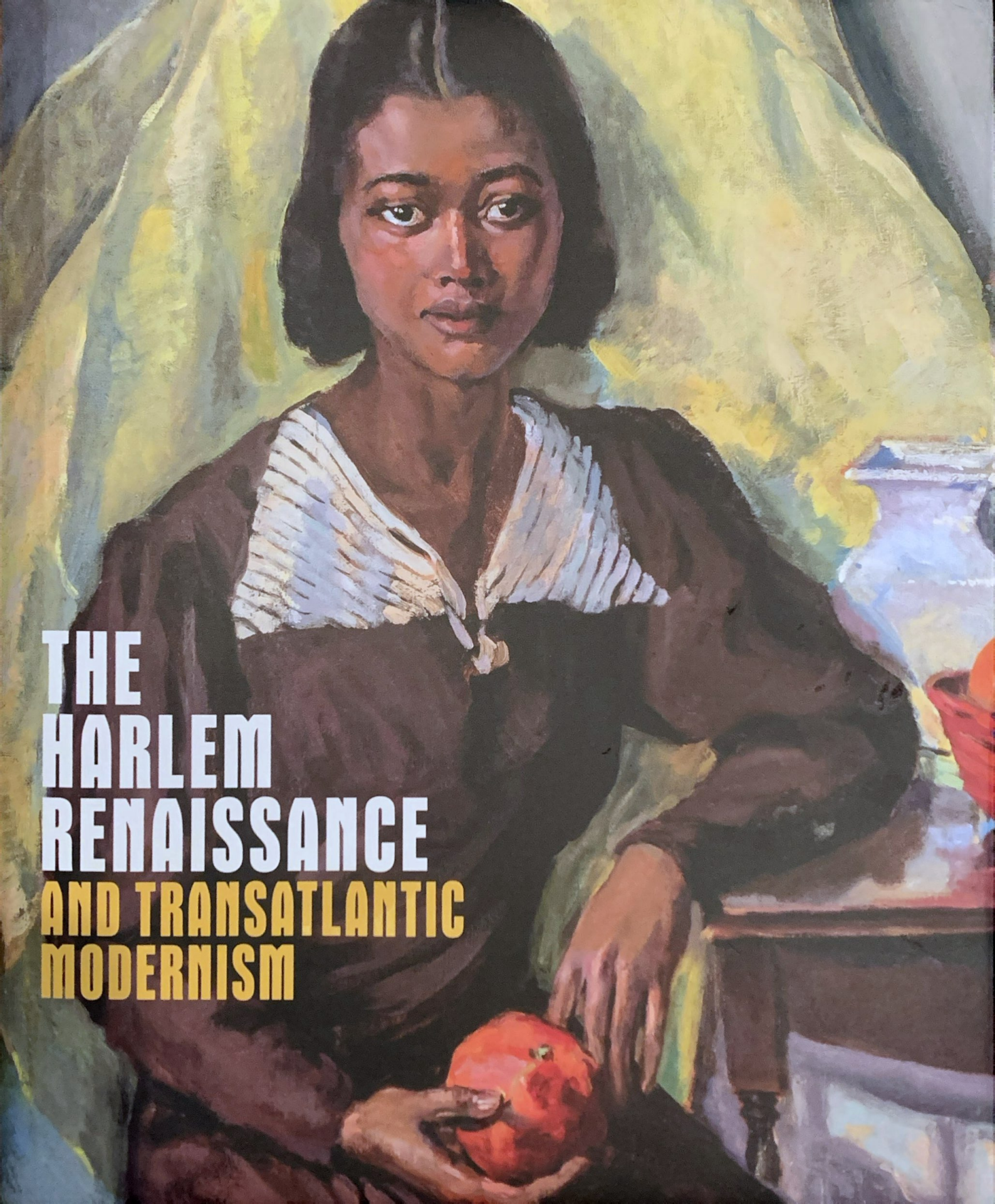
THE
HARLEM
RENAISSANCE
AND TRANSATLANTIC
MODERNISM

A groundbreaking volume resituating the Harlem Renaissance as integral to the development of twentieth-century modernism

Beginning in the 1920s, Upper Manhattan became the center of an explosion of art, writing, and ideas that has since become legendary. But what we now know as the Harlem Renaissance, the first movement of international modern art led by African Americans, extended far beyond New York City. This volume reexamines the Harlem Renaissance as part of a global flowering of Black creativity, with roots in the New Negro theories and aesthetics of Alain Locke, its founding philosopher, as well as the writings of W. E. B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes, and Zora Neale Hurston. Featuring artists such as Aaron Douglas, Charles Henry Alston, Augusta Savage, and William H. Johnson, who synthesized the expressive figuration of the European avant-garde with the aesthetics of African sculpture and folk art to render all aspects of African American city life, this publication also includes works by lesser-known contributors, including Laura Wheeler Waring and Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr., who took a more classical approach to depicting Black subjects with dignity, interiority, and gravitas. The works of New Negro artists active abroad are also examined in juxtaposition with those of their European and international African diasporan peers, from Germaine Casse and Ronald Moody to Henri Matisse, Edvard Munch, and Pablo Picasso. This reframing of a celebrated cultural phenomenon shows how the flow of ideas through Black artistic communities on both sides of the Atlantic contributed to international conversations around art, race, and identity while helping to define our notion of modernism.

332 pages; 262 illustrations; index

THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE AND TRANSATLANTIC MODERNISM

THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE AND TRANSATLANTIC MODERNISM

EDITED BY DENISE MURRELL

THE MET

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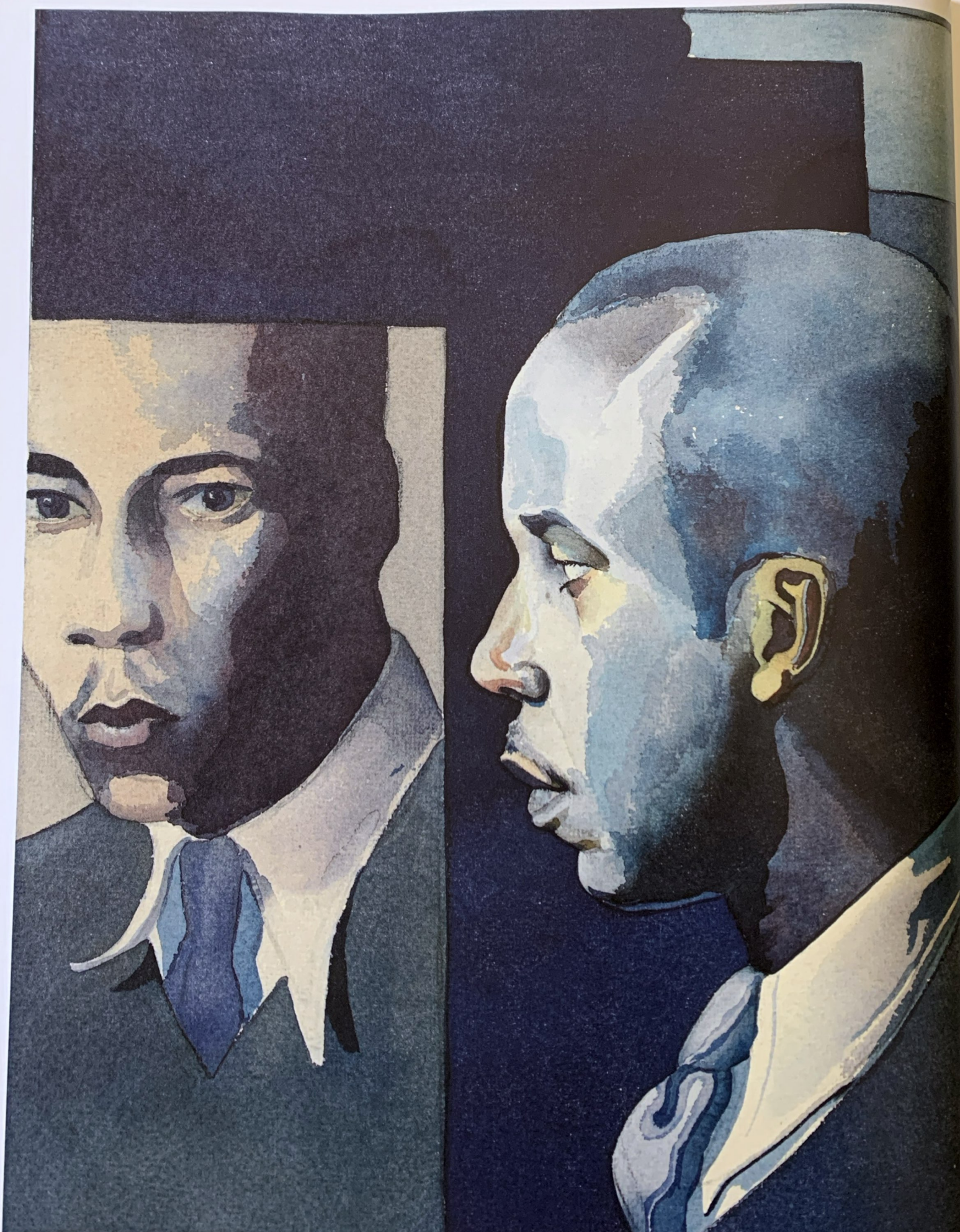

DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

The Harlem Renaissance, one of the most vibrant periods of creativity in modern times, took shape in the early decades of the twentieth century during the Great Migration, when millions of African Americans left the segregated South for better opportunities in growing Black neighborhoods elsewhere in the nation. The artists, writers, and intellectuals associated with the Harlem Renaissance constituted the first African American–led movement of international modern art. Featuring more than 160 paintings, sculptures, drawings, prints, and photographs, *The Harlem Renaissance and Transatlantic Modernism* offers the first comprehensive survey of this rich subject in New York in almost forty years. This once-in-a-generation exhibition captures the artistry and energy as well as the dignity and outrage that characterize this complex moment in history as it evolved on both sides of the Atlantic. As the authors of the present volume make clear, the Harlem Renaissance refers less to a place and time than to a transnational spirit of creative camaraderie.

This groundbreaking presentation at The Met was organized by Denise Murrell, Merryl H. and James S. Tisch Curator at Large, Office of the Director. She and her fellow authors examine the dynamics that animated the Harlem Renaissance, from the competing philosophies of luminaries such as Alain Locke and W. E. B. Du Bois to the contrasting visual strategies employed by well-known artists—including Archibald J. Motley, Jr., Aaron Douglas, William H. Johnson, Winold Reiss, James Van Der Zee, Laura Wheeler Waring, and Europeans such as Henri Matisse and Edvard Munch—as well as less familiar figures from both the United States and overseas, such as Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr., Ronald Moody, and Germaine Casse. United in their objective to portray all aspects of modern Black life and culture, these and other Harlem Renaissance artists employed a wide variety of representational styles, and their works reflect a panoply of influences, from African and ancient Egyptian aesthetics to European avant-garde pictorial strategies and academically inflected classicism.

In the last few years, The Met has made significant progress in its efforts to include previously underrepresented artists and cultures in its exhibitions, programs, and publications. Among the recent groundbreaking projects that come to mind are *Hear Me Now: The Black Potters of Old Edgefield, South Carolina; Africa and Byzantium; Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez; Before Yesterday We Could Fly: An Afrofuturist Period Room;* and *Fictions of Emancipation: Carpeaux's Why Born Enslaved! Reconsidered.* In this context, *The Harlem Renaissance and Transatlantic Modernism* is an especially auspicious undertaking that broadens and deepens our understanding of the artists and intellectuals associated with this movement in the United States, Europe, and the Caribbean.

In organizing an exhibition of this scope and ambition, The Met benefited enormously from the cooperation of many key partners, especially a number of historically Black colleges and universities—including Clark Atlanta University Art Museum, Fisk University Galleries, Hampton University Art Museum, and Howard University Gallery of Art—and institutions with focused collections, such as the Museum of African American Art, Los Angeles, and the Museum of African American History, Boston and Nantucket. The Met is also deeply grateful to the Smithsonian American Art Museum, National Portrait Gallery, and Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture for essential loans, and to the collectors—especially Walter and Linda Evans, the Waring and Motley families, and Harmon and Harriet Kelley—as well as the lenders in Europe who made available invaluable works from their respective collections.

The Harlem Renaissance and Transatlantic Modernism is made possible by the Ford Foundation, and I gratefully acknowledge Darren Walker for championing this project from very early on. Major support also comes from the Barrie A. and Deedee Wigmore Foundation, provided by our dedicated Museum Trustee, and Denise Littlefield Sobel, herself a fervent supporter of both the exhibition and the publication, who has invested deeply in their development. Additional support is provided by the Enterprise Holdings Endowment, the Terra Foundation for American Art, the Gail and Parker Gilbert Fund, Aaron I. Fleischman and Lin Lougheed Fund, The International Council of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Robert E. Holmes, who also supported the publication along with the Mellon Foundation. A project of this kind could not come to fruition without such thoughtful engagement from these partners.

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NORWAY

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for their kind assistance

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Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The Museum of African American Art, Los Angeles

Museum of African American History, Boston and Nantucket

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The Museum of Modern Art, New York

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library

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THE NEW NEGRO ARTIST AND THE MODERN BLACK SUBJECT

DENISE MURRELL

THE New Negro movement, also known as the Harlem Renaissance, emerged during the two decades before World War II as the first cohort of African American artists and writers whose work reflected a commitment to portray the modern Black subject in a modern way.[1] Artists associated with the movement, and its related publications, sought to capture all aspects of everyday life and culture in the expanding Black communities that were taking shape in Harlem and across the nation during the early decades of the twentieth century. This period was the start of the Great Migration, when millions of African Americans left the segregated rural South to settle in neighborhoods that could be characterized as new Black cities. The New Negro artists employed widely divergent approaches not only in terms of visual style but also in their decisions about which aspects of modern Black life to portray as part of an overt resistance to prevailing racial stereotypes.

From the onset of this movement, a vigorous debate unfolded about which ideals, beliefs, and values Black artistic practice should represent. A Harlem-based core of artists and writers embraced an aesthetic that blended the influence of African sculpture and Black folk art with Western avant-garde pictorial strategies. This approach encompassed the most widely recognized New Negro aesthetic, which took shape at the exhortation of Alain Locke (fig. 2), the Howard University professor who became the movement's founding philosopher with the 1925 publication of his widely influential book, *The New Negro: An Interpretation*.[2]

Some Harlem-based artists—and their peers in Chicago, Philadelphia, and other cities nationwide—rendered portraiture and genre scenes in a variety of styles inflected by academic tradition, imbuing Black subjects from across the social spectrum with dignity and historical gravitas. Mentored and supported by the eminent social historian and civic activist W. E. B. Du Bois (see fig. 42), this group prioritized the values of the expanding Black middle and upper-middle classes, segments of which Du Bois defined as an elite "Talented Tenth."[3] As the longtime editor of the NAACP's magazine, *The Crisis*, Du Bois showcased these activists, professionals, writers, and artists—in effect, the Black bourgeoisie—whose professional success and social propriety he intended to inspire support across racial lines for the cause of racial uplift and justice.

While Locke prioritized aesthetics, Du Bois believed that art should be used to represent the civic and political aspirations of Black people, but between the two camps there was a consensus that the portrayal of the modern Black subject by Black artists was of paramount importance. Across the stylistic and philosophical spectrum, artists and writers alike were united in their shared objective to depict aspects of modern Black life and culture that had historically been excluded from artistic representation and obliterated in the histories of art. Sharp differences emerged, however, in the two groups' approaches to this subject matter, leading to a contentious debate and critique that evolved in the late 1930s with a measure of synthesis (or democratization) in which Locke acknowledged the complementarity of diverse approaches to a visualization of Black modernity by Black artists.[4] It is this latter theoretical framework, which encompassed differing veins of creative production, that has shaped our current understanding of what constitutes the Harlem Renaissance.

CULTURAL PHILOSOPHY: AN AESTHETIC DEBATE

Harlem was the undisputed cultural capital of the New Negro movement, a fact heralded by the March 1925 publication of "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro," a special issue of the National Urban League's periodical, *Survey Graphic* (fig. 3). Locke guest-edited the issue, which presented essays and related illustrations chronicling the socioeconomic profile of Harlem as an emerging Black neighborhood. Harlem's centrality in this regard was cemented by the essay "Harlem: The Cultural Capital" by the activist, writer, and lyricist James Weldon Johnson (who wrote the words to "Lift Every Voice and Sing"), which later appeared in *The New Negro*. As Locke

Fig. 1. Detail of Charles Henry Alston, *Girl in a Red Dress*, 1934 (plate 29)

Fig. 2. Detail of Winold Reiss, *Alain Leroy Locke*, 1925 (plate 1)

elaborated in the introduction to the book, "Here in Manhattan is not merely the largest Negro community in the world, but the first concentration in history of so many diverse elements of Negro life."[5] This foundational anthology reprinted much of the "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro" material together with new contributions, including Locke's own essays, along with illustrations by the artists Winold Reiss and Aaron Douglas and short literary texts by eminent writers, among them Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston, both of whom advocated a Black modernism that drew inspiration from the folkways of ordinary people. Locke, Hurston, and Hughes also published regularly in *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*, a periodical of the New York–based National Urban League edited by Charles S. Johnson.

Despite the consensual focus on Harlem, these early publications also chronicled the national and international scope of the New Negro movement. Although this was the first African American led movement of modern art, many of its key protagonists lived outside New York and maintained ties with Harlem only through visits in connection with publi-

Fig. 3. Winold Reiss, *Roland Hayes*, cover of the "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro" issue of *Survey Graphic* (March 1925)

cations and exhibitions. Essays in *The New Negro*, moreover, raised the profile of Howard University, Washington, D.C., and Hampton University, Virginia, as national Black centers of educational excellence and described Durham, North Carolina, as the capital of the Black middle class, while also chronicling the experiences of immigrants from the Caribbean and West Africa. As viscerally related in Langston Hughes's poem "One-Way Ticket," cities in almost every region outside the South—from Chicago and Detroit to Buffalo and Scranton—were seen as destinations of the Great Migration.

The New Negro artistic and literary community, while predominantly African American, was never either exclusively Black or American. Reiss, for example, born in Germany, was the principal illustrator of *The New Negro* (together with Douglas, who had been his student). The Mexican-born portraitist Miguel Covarrubias and the controversial white American photographer Carl Van Vechten likewise made numerous portraits of Black luminaries of the era. Both *The Crisis* and *Opportunity* featured cover stories about artists, writers, and performers within the European African diaspora as well as narratives based on the editors' extensive travels abroad. Locke and Du Bois had both cultivated transatlantic worldviews during their respective periods of graduate study. In 1895, Du Bois became the first African American to earn a PhD at Harvard (in sociology) after studying in Berlin and pursuing extended travels, while Locke, the first African American Rhodes Scholar, received a PhD in philosophy from Harvard in 1918 after studying at Oxford and Berlin. Both men urged young Black artists to travel and to situate their work within an international context.[6]

Fig. 4. Laura Wheeler Waring, *Egypt and Spring*, cover of *The Crisis* (April 1923)

Fig. 5. Laura Wheeler Waring, *The Strength of Africa*, cover of *The Crisis* (September 1924)

Portraits depicting the period's leading thinkers reflect a synthesis of, but also a vacillation between, the sharply opposed rhetorical stances that were manifest in the Harlem Renaissance from its earliest years and became more apparent over time. In Aaron Douglas's portrait of Zora Neale Hurston, for example (plate 2), the writer, whose signature literary style gave a voice to the Black working class, adopted a pose consistent with bourgeois convention. Douglas made other portraits, including one of his wife, in a similar vein, and the best-known portrait of Douglas himself—an artist closely associated with Locke's African-inflected modernism—was executed by his studio assistant Edwin Harleston and represents him using the centuries-old visual trope of the artist with palette (plate 3).

Du Bois and Locke both sat for portraits by Reiss, a Locke acolyte, as did Langston Hughes (plate 4). Du Bois was a guest essayist in *The New Negro*, at Locke's invitation, and, in turn, retained Douglas as the cover illustrator for several issues of *The Crisis*.[7] This oscillation by both artists and sitters between modernist formal innovation and the traditional elegance of academic naturalism was a persistent dynamic throughout the Harlem Renaissance, whose chief protagonists, despite divergent approaches, shared an objective of Black self-expression. As Locke wrote in *The New Negro*:

> There is ample evidence of a New Negro in the latest phases of social change and progress, but still more in the internal world of the Negro mind and spirit. . . . Of all the voluminous literature on the Negro . . . nine-tenths of it is *about* the Negro rather than of him. . . . We have nevertheless concentrated upon self-expression and the forces and motives of self-determination. So far as he is culturally articulate, we shall let the Negro speak for himself.[8]

Fig. 6. Aaron Douglas, cover of the "Industrial Issue" of *Opportunity* (February 1926)

Du Bois, writing in *The Crisis,* concurred but nonetheless demonstrated his impatience with Locke's focus on aesthetics and his belief that there must be a new style to authentically render the New Negro subject. For Du Bois, art's main purpose was as an instrument of activism, but like Locke he also stressed the necessity of Black self-definition:

> We black folk . . . have within us as a race new stirrings . . . a new appreciation of joy, a new desire to create. . . . The apostle of Beauty becomes the apostle of Truth and Right. . . . Thus all Art is propaganda and ever must be, despite the wailing of the purists. . . . I do not care a damn for any art that is not used for propaganda. But I do care when propaganda is confined to one side while the other side is left stripped and silent. . . . As it is now, we are handing everything over to a white jury. We must come to the place where the work of art is reviewed and acclaimed by our own free and unfettered judgment.[9]

Still, the main consistency across all styles of the period was the depiction of the modern Black subject, in this case, portraits by Black artists of Black luminaries in numbers that were, until that moment, unprecedented in the long history of art.

The Crisis and *Opportunity* both patronized emerging young artists by commissioning them for cover illustrations—often the artists' first paid work—that provided them with a highly visible platform. Two *Crisis* covers by Laura Wheeler (later Waring) and covers by Douglas for *Opportunity* and the one-off radical publication *Fire!!* manifest the divergent stylistic interests of these publications (and their editors) even as they share an engagement with the aesthetics of ancient Egypt and the labor movement. The graceful naturalism of Waring's *Crisis* covers—titled *Egypt and Spring* (1923) and *The Strength of Africa* (1924), both with figures rendered in black silhouette—reflects her extended study of the art of North and West Africa (figs. 4, 5).[10] The style also recapitulated Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller's earlier evocation of Egyptian iconography in sculptures such as her figure *Ethiopia Awakening* (plate 57). Douglas employed a graphically simplified silhouette (in red) for similar subject matter (an Egyptian-style sphinx) on the cover of *Fire!!* (see fig. 74) but turned to black silhouette, which became his signature mode, to depict workers on the cover of the special "Industrial" issue of *Opportunity* (fig. 6). Whereas Waring elected to detail facial and bodily contours with thinly drawn linear modeling, Douglas's images are flat and featureless, their asymmetrical movements defined by outlined silhouette.

Waring's illustration for an earlier issue of *The Crisis* (fig. 7), which had a similar thematic focus on the U.S. labor movement, underscores her stylistic differences with Douglas. Where his workers are unidealized—the grueling physical demands of their labor and hellish working conditions are made palpable through the densely packed composition and sharp-edged treatment of light and shadow—Waring ennobled her subjects, depicting them in silhouettes viewed from behind. She placed them in clusters that could, arguably,

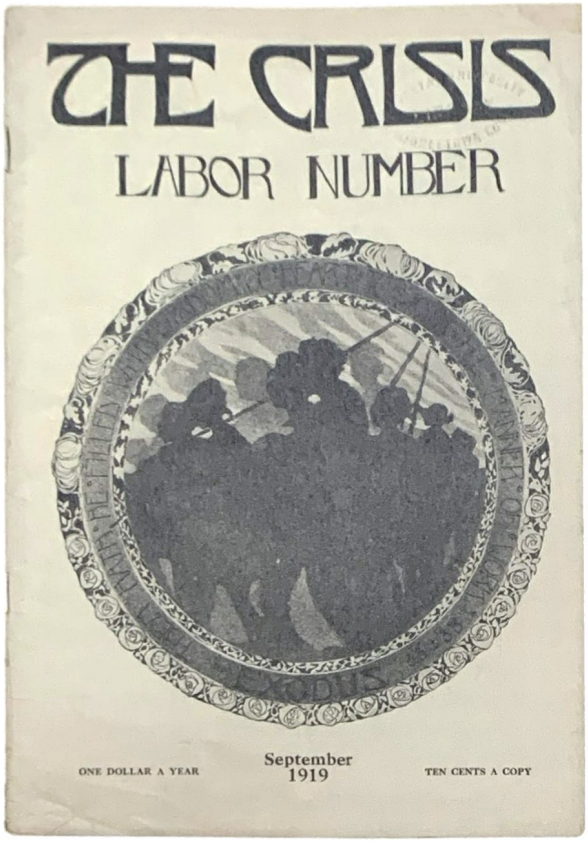


Fig. 7. Laura Wheeler Waring, cover of *The Crisis* (September 1919)

represent either a march or a mass demonstration, as if they are appealing to the empathy of the magazine's NAACP readership without confronting that audience with the workers' harsh lived experience. Yet both artists, and both publications, shared the objective of spotlighting the exploitation and injustice of the deplorable working conditions, inadequate compensation, and meager benefits for laborers in modern American industry.

EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE NEW BLACK CITIES

These divergent styles for an intersecting choice of subject matter unfolded across the spectrum of Harlem Renaissance artistic production, from portraiture, genre scenes, and symbolic paintings of history and aspiration to sculpture. Locke articulated strong views about what constituted the New Negro visual style in his best-known essay, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts" (1925), published in *The New Negro*. In this and his other essays from the 1920s, Locke called for young African American artists to embrace African aesthetics as an artistic patrimony:

> There is the possibility that the sensible artistic mind of the American Negro, stimulated by a cultural pride and interest, will receive from African art a profound and galvanizing influence. The legacy is there, at least, with prospects of a rich yield.... There is in the mere knowledge of the skill and unique mastery of the arts of the ancestors the valuable and stimulating realization that the Negro is not a cultural foundling without his own inheritance.... Our timid and apologetic imitativeness... [has its] natural end in such knowledge.... And there may also come... hints of a new technique,... incentives to new artistic idioms.[11]

He elaborated further:

> African sculpture has been for contemporary European painting and sculpture just such a mine of fresh *motifs*.... There is a vital connection between this new artistic respect for African idiom and the natural ambition of Negro artists for a racial idiom in their art expression.... The Negro physiognomy must be freshly and objectively conceived on its own patterns.... Art must discover and reveal the beauty which prejudice and caricature have overlaid.[12]

Locke's prescriptions for this kind of visual representation are embodied in Charles Henry Alston's *Girl in a Red Dress*, often considered an icon of the Harlem Renaissance (fig. 1).[13] Alston was a founding member of the influential 306 Group, a collective of Harlem modernists who kept studios and gave classes at 306 West 141st Street. These gatherings brought visual artists together with internationally known writers and musicians, from Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson to Langston Hughes, Duke Ellington, and, periodically, Locke himself.[14] Alston endowed his young unnamed sitter with an elongated neck, a sculptural, idealized face evocative of the Fang reliquary busts of West Africa,

Fig. 8. William H. Johnson, *Woman Beside Yellow Chair*, ca. 1939–40

Fig. 9. Detail of William H. Johnson, *Woman in Blue*, ca. 1943 (plate 30)

and a figural treatment whose flatness and saturated tonalities were aligned with European modernist pictorial strategies. Her modern attire and contemplative gaze to the side convey an enigmatic affect in which the subject seems oblivious to the viewer. As the art historian Richard Powell has written, this painting can be seen as an exemplary portrayal of the New Negro woman who is "defiantly black, beautiful, and feminine, yet also unsettled, mysterious, and utterly modern."[15]

At the same time, and throughout the New Negro period, those artists (often resident outside New York) who elected to employ pictorial means drawn from academic tradition—and reflecting a less overt engagement with either African aesthetics or avant-garde figuration—can be seen as having radically reinvented the genre, in their own ways, by the very act of infusing it with portrayals of the modern Black subject, whose visage had previously received no sustained artistic attention, as well as by their highly individual modes of formal experimentation. Some of these artists visualized aspects of Black subjectivity evocative of the "African American psyche" theorized at the turn of the century by Du Bois in his epochal meditation *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). A self-portrait by the Philadelphia-based Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr. (plate 28), an accomplished watercolorist, characterizes his radically activist but formally conservative body of work and can be seen as emblematic of the "double consciousness" that Du Bois famously described as a constant awareness of, and struggle against, the racialized gaze of white Americans and one's own efforts to achieve self-knowledge.[16] Displaying virtuosic control of his medium

and an unconventional style for portraiture, Brown presented his own image through flattened forms and matte surfaces. Enclosed by the deep blue tonalities of an indistinct interior, he conveys a pensive mood as he looks into a mirror, setting up an echo chamber of dualities. We see the artist, implausibly, in both profile and three-quarter views; as he contemplates himself, his reflection stares out at us. Another Brown self-portrait, *Smoking My Pipe* (plate 38), was executed, at least ostensibly, using a more straightforward approach, capturing a more direct likeness to communicate the subject's contemplative mood.

Other portraits similarly amplify the period's dichotomy of styles. In William H. Johnson's *Woman in Blue* (fig. 9), the artist's signature placement of a single monumentalized figure within a tightly cropped pictorial space instantly arrests the viewer's attention. His use of bold, flat expanses of vivid impasto color and the subject's masklike inscrutability in the final painting—which Johnson produced after completing at least one study (fig. 8)—intensify this portrayal of an urbane personality, who, with her wide-eyed gaze and cool self-assurance, insists on her own terms of engagement. In a similar vein, Archibald J. Motley, Jr.'s, *Portrait of a Cultured Lady (Edna Powell Gayle)* (plate 31) represents the sitter, his gallerist, as the essence of poised sophistication, but his more traditional composition situates her within an elegantly appointed interior.[17] Laura Wheeler Waring, in contrast, blanked out background details to make *Girl in Green Cap* (plate 36) a study in youthful stylishness, posing a chic young woman in a similar seated format but with careful modeling of the face and figure to suggest a likeness of a specific, if unnamed, individual. Like Alston in *Red Dress*, Johnson treated his figure with an expressive quality that veers from natural proportions in favor of bold, flat color.

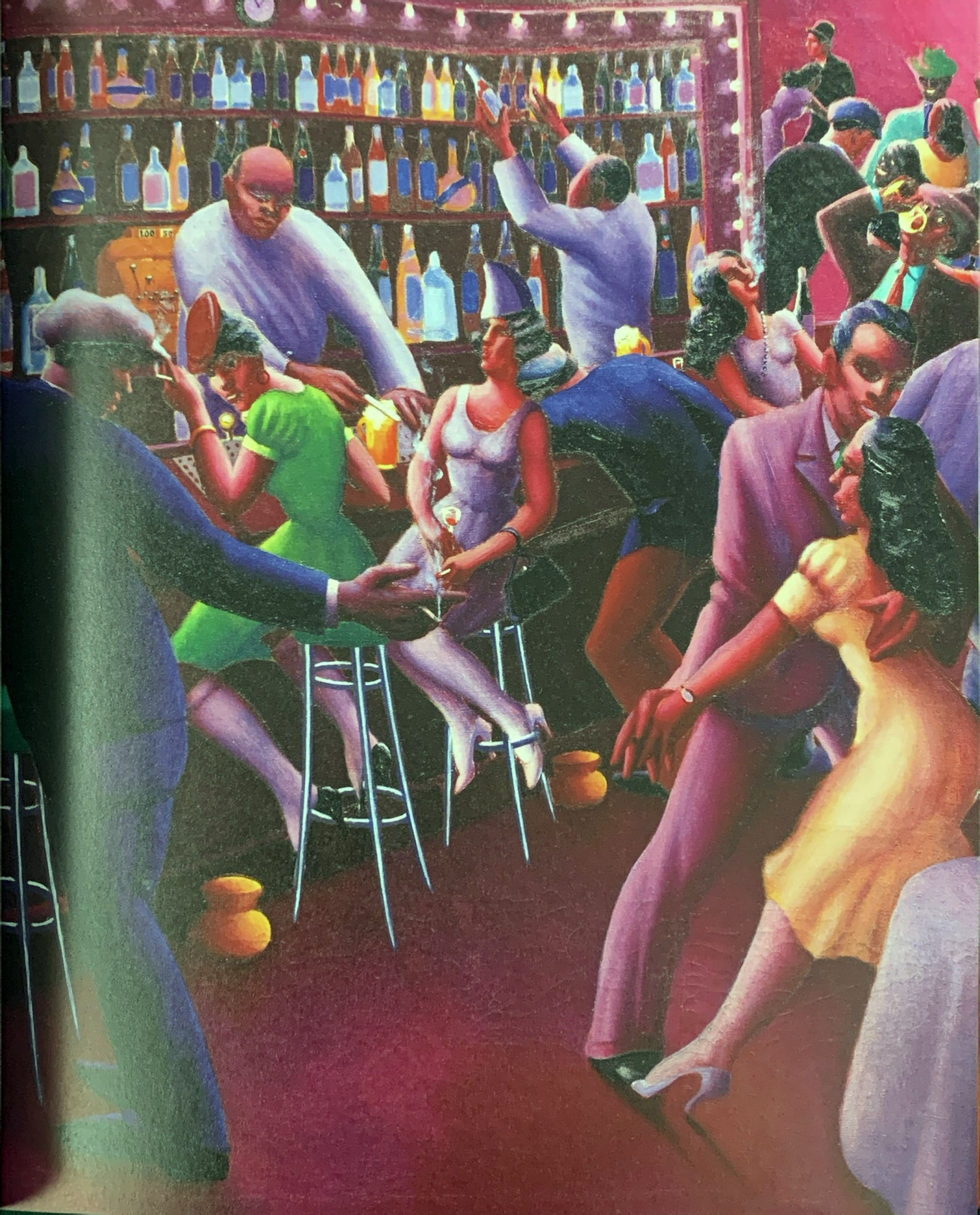
Motley's portrait of his father (plate 32), a retired and partially disabled Pullman porter, imbues the sitter with a sense of tradition and dignity that captures his authoritative stature as an elder within his family and community despite his humble social position outside those circles. The unnamed subject of Johnson's riveting *Man in a Vest* (plate 33), a debonair figure whose social status is undefined, likewise commands respect, meeting the viewer's eye with a cool, self-assured gaze. This commitment to portraying everyday African Americans with the gravitas assigned to them by the Black community itself—in a marked refutation of the stereotyping with which such figures were commonly depicted, or disregarded, in popular culture—was shared by New Negro–era artists across the stylistic divide.

Genre scenes capturing the daily life, and nightlife, of the city were especially vibrant renderings of this commitment. "Jazz to me," wrote Langston Hughes, "is one of the inherent expressions of Negro life in America. . . . Let the blare of Negro jazz bands and the bellowing voice of Bessie Smith singing Blues penetrate the closed ears of the colored near-intellectuals until they listen and perhaps understand." Hughes cites Paul Robeson in concert and Aaron Douglas "drawing strange black fantasies" as examples of these achievements in the hopes that they might "cause the smug Negro middle class to catch a glimmer of their own beauty":

> We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too. . . . If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn't matter either. We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves.[18]

Hughes's embrace of the everyday life of ordinary Black folk culture was especially relevant to the depiction of street scenes and nightlife in the new Black cities. William H. Johnson's *Street Life, Harlem* (plate 8) conveys the jaunty demeanor and colorfully urbane sartorial choices of the habitués of the restaurants and dance clubs who drew Hughes's admiration. Similarly, the Chicago-based Motley's *Picnic* (plate 25) ratchets up the festive quotient to capture the gaiety of an outing in a verdant park, while his *Nightlife* (fig. 10) exemplifies what Locke characterized as a "half-Rabelaisian"

Fig. 10. Detail of Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Nightlife*, 1943 (plate 96)



joyful abandon.[19] Johnson's *Jitterbugs V* (plate 95) likewise captures, in a markedly contrasting style, the unbridled joy on display in the dance halls of Harlem that he roamed after returning from almost a decade in Europe.[20] Tempering that spirit of exultation is Malvin Gray Johnson's *Jenkins Band* (plate 18), which depicts the sobering prospect of orphan bands fundraising in the streets, one of the many processionals that were a fixture of daily life in Harlem.

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY PAINTING: THE ASYMMETRY OF BLACK MODERNISM

One core objective of the Harlem Renaissance was the representation of the history and cultural philosophy that gave shape to a specifically African American identity and worldview. Through this body of work we gain further clarity on the complementary aspects of the two divergent stylistic approaches within the movement, as choices of pictorial style and subject matter contributed to the shared goal of visualizing new approaches to capturing the values, beliefs, and aspirations of the modern Black subject.

Aaron Douglas, widely acknowledged as the foremost history painter of the New Negro era, forged a signature style from a blend of African, Egyptian, and Western art historical sources that scholars have described as "the prototypical visual expression of the Harlem Renaissance."[21] Having established his reputation in the late 1920s with compelling illustrations for book and magazine covers, in the 1930s Douglas developed a series of murals and serial paintings that set forth key episodes in African American history and sociopolitical consciousness. Key to Douglas's radical modernity was his linkage of this emerging identity with the legacy of African and Egyptian aesthetics, as exhorted by Locke. *Aspects of Negro Life: From Slavery to Reconstruction* (plate 52) is the second of four panels in a monumentally scaled mural created in 1934 for the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library (now known as the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture), under the sponsorship of the Works Progress Administration. Following an initial panel that imagines scenes of life in Africa prior to enslavement, this work presents a symbolic account of African American history from enslavement through Reconstruction.[22] Working on a monumental scale inspired by traditional Western history painting, Douglas adapted a frieze-like format, popularized by the nineteenth-century French painter Pierre Puvis de Chavannes and the American Regionalist Thomas Hart Benton, to extend the narrative horizontally across twelve feet.[23] His signature sharp-edged flat figures, depicted in profile and evocative of Egyptian tomb reliefs, are rendered in the familiar black silhouette of cutout figures from American folk art but with a new historical import conveyed through their dramatic stances and expressive facial qualities, deftly shaped with slashed voids for eyes and lips.[24] The central narrative, spotlighted by radiating circles of contrasting color tones, depicts workers in a cotton field, some of whom turn their attention to a speaker standing on a stump as he reads from a handheld announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation and points to the proverbial city beckoning on the hill.[25] A second set of circular bands highlights the resulting exultation among the newly freed, with music, dance, and a raised hand dangling a broken chain. On the opposite side of the canvas, in a foreboding of the thwarted Reconstruction era to come, hooded Ku Klux Klan members appear on horseback as the victorious Union soldiers depart for the North, leaving the freedmen unprotected from the assertion of Jim Crow white supremacist laws and the terrorism of lynching, evoked in the third panel. The final panel envisions the resulting start of the Great Migration out of the post-abolition South. Praised by many as the culmination of Douglas's art, the *Aspects* series constituted a masterful realization of the artist's signature visual style and his intention that his art should exist in public spaces, free and accessible to all.[26]

Although Douglas disavowed spirituality as a motivation for art making, he based a series of panel paintings on passages from the Old Testament articulated as lyrics by James Weldon Johnson in his 1927 volume *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse*. Douglas developed the compositions first as illustrations for Johnson's book and subsequently as oil paintings. While *The Creation* and *Noah Built the Ark* symbolize an African American spiritual longing for

Fig. 11. Detail of Aaron Douglas, *Aspiration*, 1936 (plate 54)

divine grace, *Let My People Go* can be seen as a metaphor for the quest for liberation from bondage (plates 48–51).[27] The figures, again in silhouette, blend elements of Cubism with the striding stances and bobbed coiffures seen in ancient Egyptian tomb reliefs in order to visualize poems written in the African American folk tradition of a minister's sermon.[28]

These paintings manifest a long-standing practice, extending from the lyrics of early Negro spirituals to the civil rights movement, of coopting stories from the Old Testament to articulate themes of liberation and freedom. *Aspiration* (fig. 11) was the final panel of a subsequent series of murals Douglas made in 1936 for the Texas Centennial Exposition, Dallas, designated for a "Hall of Negro Life." Its representation of leaders was intended to show the value of the tools of science and education in the quest to make a successful transition from enslavement (the shackled hands) to the prospect of liberty and prosperity, whether in the state of Texas (symbolized by the five-pointed star) or, in a possible dual meaning, the distant cities reached by following the North Star.[29] Douglas's vision of African American aspiration broadened during the years of World War II, as manifested in *Building More Stately Mansions* (plate 53), commissioned for the International Student Center on the campus of Fisk University, Nashville.[30] As described by Douglas, his objective was to spotlight the contributions of exploited Black labor to the great civilizations worldwide.[31] He thus resituated African American history in a global context, in which the sphinx of Egypt appears within an international panorama together with the spire of Western cathedrals, the tiers of Asian Buddhist pagodas, and a building crane extending over American skyscrapers, emblems of modernity that connote growth and possibility.[32]

Sculptors were among the New Negro artists whose work sustained the dialogue about the choice to engage with African art versus classicized academic aesthetics. Sargent Johnson's *Mask*, for example, and William Artis's *Woman with Kerchief* provide a striking comparison of the two approaches (plates 55, 56).[33]

Laura Wheeler Waring's monumental portrait of Marian Anderson (plate 90) is an exceptional example of the latter approach to representing history and to the ennoblement of esteemed luminaries. It memorializes the historic occasion of the renowned singer's 1939 Easter Sunday concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, made possible by the intervention of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt after Anderson's performance at the nearby concert hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution was canceled owing to her race. In contrast to Douglas's modernist visual vocabulary, Waring turned to the academic pictorial tradition, as she had throughout her career, to render the historical import of the moment. As one of Waring's portraits of *Outstanding Americans of Negro Origin*, a series commissioned by and exhibited at the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C., this widely admired painting can be seen, arguably, as the kind of "'art as propaganda" called for by Du Bois. In a broader art historical context, whereby the art world holds in high esteem official representations of Egyptian, Tudor, and Congolese rulers as works of fine art, by the 1930s even Locke had evolved in his thinking to take a more "democratic" view of modernism. He recognized that portrait painters such as Waring had used traditional techniques as a means of redressing the canonical absence of official American portraits of modern Black leaders and inspirational figures. In this way, Locke implicitly ordained an asymmetrical approach to modernism in African American artistic production not unlike the paths to modern art adapted in other cultures, including some former colonies of Europe that had been denied access to artistic training and institutional support. As Lowery Stokes Sims has astutely noted, "African Americans created a modernism that was . . . not always congruent with canonical histories of Europe and America."[34]

Some of the best-known works by New Negro artists sought to synthesize the two stylistic approaches to image making. Hale Woodruff's *The Art of the Negro: Artists (Study)* (plate 58) is surmounted by symbols of Western antiquity, African sculpture, and Eastern religion, a symbolic convening of the diverse cultural and intellectual influences on African American modernism. Palmer Hayden's widely published but rarely seen *Fétiche et Fleurs* (fig. 12), another icon of the Harlem Renaissance, similarly explores the blending of African

Fig. 12. Detail of Palmer Hayden, *Fétiche et Fleurs*, 1932 (plate 59)

Fig. 13. Detail of Winold Reiss, *Two Public School Teachers*, 1925 (plate 105)

and Western aesthetics that informed the work of many New Negro artists, as urged by Locke, by situating an African sculpture within a traditional academic still life. The fact that Hayden, a longtime expatriate, painted it in France underscores the broader international modernist movements within which this important work and others in the New Negro movement were situated.

COLORISM, CLASS TENSIONS, AND INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Despite such evolving views, there were entrenched and seemingly unbridgeable divides in the choices of subject matter related to core social issues. These divisions, which were central to the New Negro aesthetic and sociocultural debates from the movement's inception, were the subject of scathing critiques by some of its most prominent thinkers.

One month after the March 1925 release of the "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro" issue of *Survey Graphic*, the Harlem branch of the New York Public Library on West 135th Street presented an exhibition of the portraits by Winold Reiss that Locke had included as illustrations for the issue. A selection of the portraits was also slated to appear in Locke's *The New Negro*. The portraits, of unnamed "Harlem Types," are painted in pastel and capture the unnamed sitters' physiognomies with the carefully modeled naturalism of traditional portraiture while simplifying details of attire and attributes using the broadly drawn lines of a study sketch. Locke commissioned

this body of work for its capacity to disrupt conventions of portraiture and to depict Harlemites from different social backgrounds as emblematic of the New Negro presence that was reshaping American modernity.[35] A section of plates titled "Four Portraits of Negro Women" was placed opposite the short essay "Breaking Through" by Eunice Roberta Hunton, who wrote that "Harlem is a modern ghetto":

> True, that is a contradiction in terms, but prejudice has ringed this group around with invisible lines and bars. Within the bars you will find a small city, self-sufficient, complete in itself—a riot of color and personality, a medley of songs and tears, a canvas of browns and golds and flaming reds. And yet bound.[36]

The exhibition drew heavy attendance from the Harlem community, including student groups from nearby schools. One portrait from the "Negro Women" section, *Two Public School Teachers* (fig. 13), became a focal point of criticism and debate during a community meeting organized by *Survey Graphic*'s editor to discuss the issue. The double portrait depicts the two teachers as exemplary of their profession; they are both professionally attired, wear Phi Beta Kappa keys, and are seen gazing reflectively at the viewer over an open magazine.[37] Some Black members of the community questioned the merits of including this painting in both the publication and the exhibition. As the local educator Elise Johnson McDougald (who was herself the subject of one of the portraits; see fig. 47) wrote to Locke, who did not attend the meeting:

> One Mr. Williams wondered if the whole art side of the issue were a "piece of subtle propaganda to prejudice the white reader." He told us that "Should he meet those two schoolteachers in the street, he would be afraid of them." It happened that one of them, Miss Price, had come in late with me from another meeting. When an opportune moment arrived, she stood to express her regret that she would frighten him but claimed the portrait as "a pretty good likeness."[38]

There are various reasons why the *Survey Graphic* issue and its Reiss illustrations drew such vehement criticism from within the Harlem community. One audience member objected to the fact that Locke had been named its guest editor, since he was a professor at Howard University, in Washington, D.C., and was not a Harlem resident. Another objected to Locke's engaging Reiss, a German-born white artist, as the issue's principal illustrator.[39] This was ironic, however, since Reiss gained no benefit from his race with regard to the Harlem portraits; he was never able to sell a single one of them, and no downtown gallery was willing to display them. (Aaron Douglas later facilitated the acquisition of dozens of them by Fisk University, which today has by far the most extensive holdings of Reiss's Harlem portraits of any museum.) Reiss did, however, achieve success as a Manhattan-based art teacher, graphic designer, and creator of Art Nouveau–inflected architectural interiors for leading restaurants and theaters, all projects that were not available to Black artists.[40]

The most venal and sustained attacks came from those within the Harlem community who singled out *Two Public School Teachers* because, they believed, it did not reflect their views that these women were not appropriate representatives of Black modernity, an opinion predicated solely on the sitters' physical appearance as dark-skinned Black women. As Locke's biographer, Jeffrey Stewart, has observed, "Reiss was ahead of his time in these bold renderings of largely dark-skinned African Americans."[41] Indeed, the episode laid painfully bare one of the core issues for which many New Negro artists, writers, and performers reserved their harshest critique, namely, the values, and sometimes prejudices, of the expanding Black middle and upper classes.

The issue of colorism had already been articulated in the "Mecca" issue of *Survey Graphic* by Walter White in an essay titled "Color Lines":

> Unfortunately . . . color prejudice creates certain attitudes of mind on the part of some colored people which form color lines within the color line. . . . It is regrettable that there should grow up among Negroes themselves distinctions based on skin color and hair texture. . . . [owing to] disparate social and economic opportunities.[42]

Locke himself hastened to publish an adamant defense of Reiss in *Opportunity* one month later. Focusing on the work's artistic merits, he mounted a scathing rejection of the community's response:

> The Negro offers . . . the most untouched of all the available fields of portraiture, and the most intriguing . . . because of the variety of pigmentation and subtlety of values. . . . [But] serious painting in America has all but ignored him. . . . Negro artists, themselves victims of the academy-tradition, have had the same attitude, and have shared the blindness of the Caucasian eye. . . . We shall have to draw the culture-line sharply and without compromise, and challenge, without hope or expectation of quarter, our own Philistines.

"The work of Winold Reiss," Locke maintained, "was deliberately conceived and executed as a pathbreaker. . . . It was meant to represent a new approach, and constructively to break with the current tradition." He then repeated his exhortation also published in *The New Negro*:

> Art must discover and reveal the beauty which prejudice and caricature have obscured and overlaid. . . . All vital art discovers beauty, and opens our eyes to beauty that previously we could not see. And no great art will impose alien canons of beauty upon its subject matter. But it is harder to discover beauty in the familiar—and that may perhaps be why our own Negro artists may be the last to recognize the new potentialities, technical and aesthetic, of our racial types. Modern art happily has already discovered them: Mr. Reiss is simply a pioneer in the application of this discovery to the American Negro subject. . . . I do not need to appeal to race pride, but only to pride of profession to feel and hope that "The Two School Teachers" in addition to being "good drawing" is finely representative.[43]

Langston Hughes recapitulated the critiques of both White and Locke in 1926, relating the intraracial cultural phenomenon of colorism to the constraints on the New Negro artist seeking to produce work that would transcend these cultural values:

> The Negro artist works against an undertow of sharp criticism and misunderstanding from his own group and unintentional bribes from the whites. "O, be respectable, write about nice people, show how good we are," say the Negroes. "Be stereotyped, don't go too far, don't shatter our illusions about you, don't amuse us too seriously. We will pay you," say the whites. . . . This is the mountain standing in the way of any true Negro art in America—this urge within the race toward whiteness, the desire to pour racial individuality into the mold of American standardization, and to be as little Negro and as much American as possible. . . . The road for the serious black artist, then, who would produce a racial art is most certainly rocky and the mountain is high. Until recently he received almost no encouragement for his work from either white or colored people.[44]

These unsparing appraisals laid bare the chasm separating the New Negro followers of Locke from the socially conservative but politically activist supporters of Du Bois and their belief that art should advance the cause of Black progress. This communal self-critique can also be understood as a radical break from the public silence about this difficult subject, forcing a discussion that, in subsequent decades, led fitfully to a wider range of views among the middle classes. By midcentury, for example, jazz, which they had previously shunned, was being embraced as "America's classical music." The civil rights movement also broadened access to education and professional life, further contributing to the remaking of the intraracial demographics of the Black middle and upper classes. Still, Du Bois, who saw the working classes as beneficiaries of the NAACP's activism but not as the face of the movement, firmly believed that the most effective embodiment of Black social, political, and economic aspiration was the elite middle and upper classes: the so-called Talented Tenth. While Du Bois is not known to

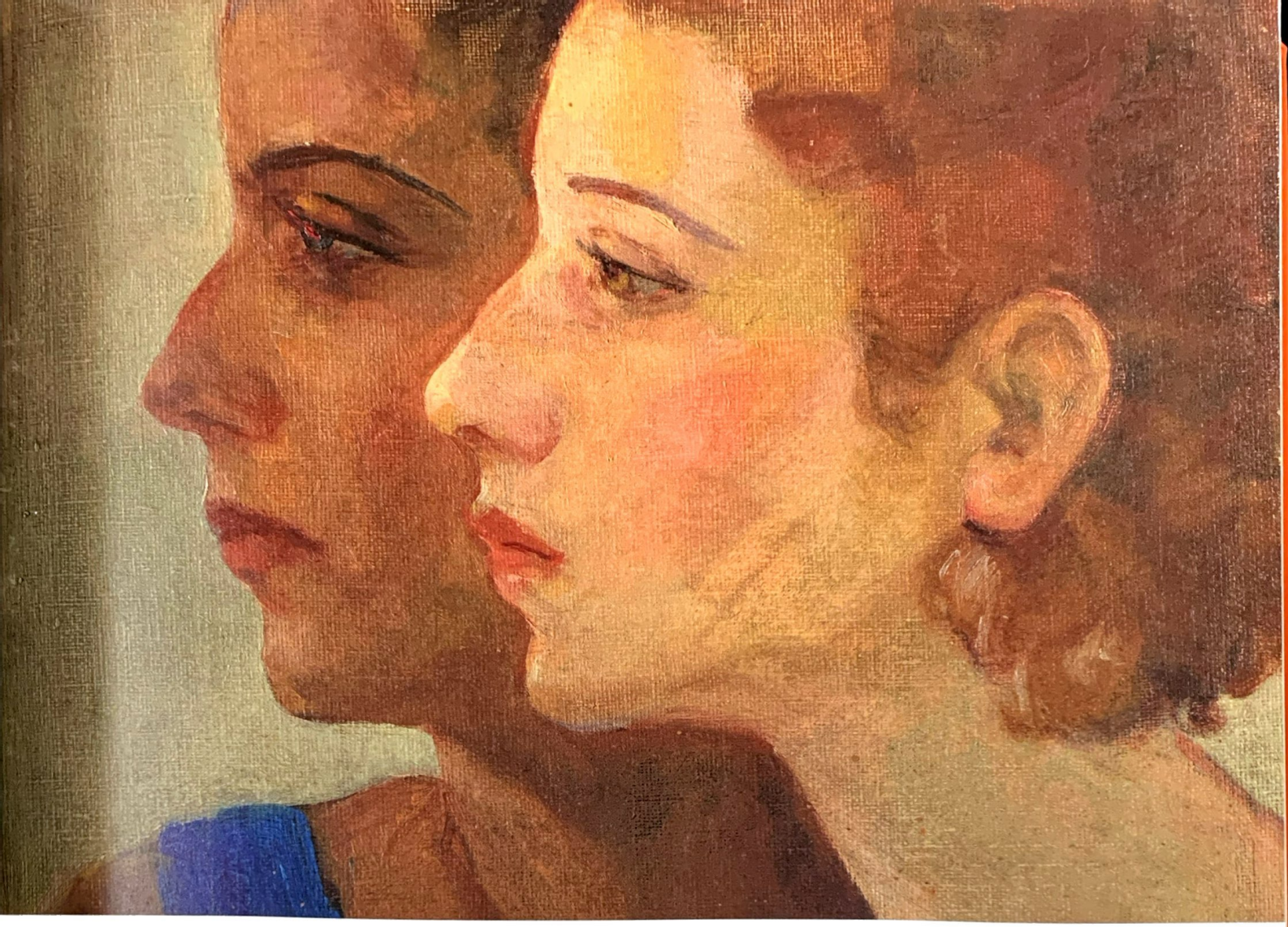


Fig. 14. Detail of Laura Wheeler Waring, *Mother and Daughter*, ca. 1927 (plate 108)

have articulated a colorism-inflected vision that these elites should be white-adjacent in appearance and manner, recent scholarship has examined this issue in detail and raised important questions. One study, for example, asserted that the embodiment of Du Bois's ambitions for the race was the Black middle-class woman of an invariably lighter complexion; during the twenty-eight years Du Bois edited *The Crisis* (1910–38), more than 80 percent of the women featured on the cover were either racially ambiguous enough to pass for white (19 percent) or recognizably of color but with "Eurotypic" features (57 percent).[45]

In this context, it is remarkable that some of the most effective disruptions of the practice of colorism came from Black women—artists, educators, and writers—whose family backgrounds by birth or marriage often aligned with this elite class. Elise Johnson McDougald's essay "The Task of Negro Womanhood" was featured in *The New Negro*, for instance, while Nella Larsen's landmark novels *Quicksand* (1928) and, especially, *Passing* (1929) were highly praised upon their release. Zora Neale Hurston's play *Color Struck* (1926), published in *Fire!!*, and Wallace Thurman's novel *The Blacker the Berry* (1929) extended the range of literary treatments of this subject. For her part, Laura Wheeler Waring, whom Du Bois commissioned for several *Crisis* cover illustrations and who later won first prize in the 1927 Harmon Foundation exhibition, made a little-known series of paintings that, arguably, constitute the most compelling visual representation of the presence of mixed-race and interracial family and social groups. Waring's *Mother and Daughter* (fig. 14), from about 1927, was praised by Locke for its choice of subject

even though he had years earlier dismissed the artist's academic approach to portraiture as "insufficiently modern."[46] By the early 1930s, as discussed above, Locke had amended this judgment, describing Waring as "a portraitist of considerable distinction" and acknowledging that well-executed traditional painting could be "modern" simply by virtue of its subject.[47] *Mother and Daughter* is perhaps the most direct engagement by a prominent Black artist of that era with the controversial topic of racially mixed families; its very existence, to underscore Locke's revised opinion, was a disruption of the socially sanctioned silence on the subject within the Black upper classes. Waring experimented with some of the modernist pictorial devices favored by Locke in her portrayal of a mixed-race mother and her white-presenting daughter, rendering them not as specific individuals but as generic types emblematic of the omnipresence of racially mixed families within the Black community. By flattening their near-identical facial features in profile, Waring established the true subject of the painting via the title and through the work's most prominent element: the divergent skin tones that point to the subjects' radically different paths through life as defined by the color line.

Waring's *Girl in Pink Dress* (plate 109) mounts its own intervention into the norms of New Negro portraiture as an exceedingly rare portrayal of a young woman of darker skin tones but with no overt stereotyping. She is presented instead with the elegant coiffure and attire—exquisitely detailed with nuanced tonal variations—that situate her as an icon of the Jazz Age and imbue her with a poise and stylish grace more typically reserved for types such as Motley's *Octoroon Girl* (plate 106). The subject of *Girl with Pomegranate* (plate 111), possibly the same model featured in *Girl in Pink Dress*, is similarly positioned as a modernist muse. With its seated figure shaped by loose brushwork within an expressive arrangement of pictorial space, the portrait showcases Waring's facility with a range of compositional devices, enabling her to create a body of work, regrettably little known today, that established her as the principal Black female portraitist of modern period's Black women and one who transcended colorism-based class norms. Waring rendered her self-portrait (plate 107) with a similar flatness and a blank neutral background, signifying a close familiarity—perhaps owing to her own family background—with the subjects depicted in *Mother and Daughter*. She left unfinished this depiction of herself in unidealized middle age, with her contemplative demeanor denoting the ongoing act of close observation that was central to her oeuvre.

Through their works, artists like Waring confronted the paradoxical duality of the role of the period's Black upper classes, who cofounded and eventually led the NAACP and other activist organizations and were accomplished professionals in many fields. These important roles were implicitly recognized when Waring and the artist Betsy Reyneau were commissioned by the National Portrait Gallery to make the portraits in the *Outstanding Americans of Negro Origin* series, which were first shown in a high-profile exhibition in 1944–45 and then went on a nationwide tour for several years. On the other hand, members of this class were also among the leading practitioners and enforcers of the social codes of intraracial colorism. As Langston Hughes pointed out,

> [In] the home of a self-styled "high-class" Negro... there will perhaps be more aping of things white than in a less cultured or less wealthy home. The father... is often dark but he has usually married the lightest woman he could find. The family attend a fashionable church where few really colored faces are to be found. And they themselves draw a color line.... Many an upper-class Negro church, even now, would not dream of employing a spiritual in its services. The drab melodies in white folks' hymnbooks are much to be preferred. "We want to worship the Lord correctly and quietly. We don't believe in 'shouting.' Let's be dull like the Nordics," they say, in effect.[48]

Artists addressed this potent dynamic in genre scenes depicting Black upper-class settings in cities across the country. The Chicago-based Motley's *Cocktails* (fig. 15) shows affluent women socializing over drinks, during Prohibition, in an upscale living room. The women are clearly medium- to light-complexioned, while the uniformed butler serving them is darker. In comparison, the illustrated book *Loose Nuts: A Rapsody in Brown* by Bert Hurley (plates 26, 27)

shows middle-class social life in the historically Black North End neighborhood of Louisville, Kentucky, as a gathering of racially ambiguous partygoers who would have been capable of passing for white, even though recently assembled photographs reveal that they were unambiguously brown-skinned and clearly African American in both perception and self-description within their communities.

Palmer Hayden's incisive but iconographically problematic portrait *The Dame from Harlem* (fig. 16) presents a matron ensconced in her elaborate living room while dressed for an evening out. The photographer James Van Der Zee frequently made empathetic portraits of the Harlem middle classes posed in their homes (fig. 17), but Hayden's subject, despite the props with which she has surrounded herself, is portrayed with a mixture of sneering disdain and a recognition of racial vulnerability. The bug-eyed dog is a clear indicator of Hayden's satire, as is the stereotypical treatment of the sitter's facial features and skin tones, which the

Fig. 15. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Cocktails*, ca. 1926

Fig. 16. Palmer Hayden, *The Dame from Harlem*, ca. 1930

Fig. 17. James Van Der Zee, *Miss Suzie Porter, Harlem*, 1915

artist may have deliberately darkened to an unflattering and unnaturally dull matte finish. Although she has assumed the demeanor of a successful woman and has the traditional attributes of privilege and leisure, she remains bound by the Eurocentric constraints that affected her everyday life, such as her garish light-toned hosiery, which was likely promoted to white consumers as being "natural flesh toned" by manufacturers that did not, at that time, make the product in shades that would have matched the skin tones of Black women.

One type of middle-class representation supported almost unanimously by New Negro artists, regardless of personal style, was the portrayal of venerated elders. William H. Johnson's *Mom and Dad* and *Mom Alice* (plates 117, 120) are heavily stylized, expressive depictions made during the artist's sojourn to his hometown of Florence, South Carolina, after more than a decade's absence in New York and abroad. Motley's carefully observed *Uncle Bob* (plate 119), like the portrait of his father, along with Waring's *Anna Washington Derry* (1927) and John N. Robinson's *Mr. and Mrs. Barton* (plate 118) were rendered in a more academic style.[49] All these artists were acutely aware that enslavement and abolition were a living memory within their extended families; an elder who was seventy-five years old in 1925 would have been born into enslavement and about fifteen at the time of abolition. Accordingly, artists sought to provide these venerated members of their families and communities with dignity, empathy, and respect at a time when portrayals of African American seniors in popular culture were invariably heavily stereotyped.

In the same manner, some artists viewed young children as symbolic of hope for the future. Universal access to public education and health care was a basic demand of many activists, and related stories featured regularly on the covers of *The Crisis* and other magazines. Allan Rohan Crite's *School's Out* (plate 127) was an idealized and widely admired depiction of Black middle-class values and optimism.[50] In addition to Van Der Zee, Reiss, and William H. Johnson, Augusta Savage and Ernest Crichlow were among the many other artists who regularly made closely observed portraits of Black children and family scenes (plates 121–127).

THE NEW NEGRO ARTIST AND TRANSATLANTIC MODERNISM

Locke and Du Bois were both experienced travelers and made regular extended trips abroad, especially to Europe: Du Bois to attend Pan-African activist conferences and Locke to participate in those events as well but also to see art, from the old masters in the major museums to contemporary work in galleries. This experience profoundly influenced Locke's conception of the new forms of art that he urged New Negro artists to develop. While he is widely known for advocating that Black American artists engage with the patrimony of African creativity in order to formulate a distinctive African American mode of artistic expression, Locke's almost equally insistent call for an engagement with European modernism, and for a synthesis of European and African influences, is often overlooked.

It is a common but erroneous assumption that Locke spurned the European avant-garde in favor of African art when, in fact, he sustained a deep personal knowledge of and admiration for aspects of this work. Throughout his career, Locke urged the rising generation of New Negro artists to engage with certain European modernist masters but to consider this output as prototypical, warning them emphatically to avoid direct imitation and, instead, to view it as source material that could inspire an original New Negro aesthetic. Locke maintained this stance partly in reaction to the transformative engagement with African art that many leading European artists had experienced going back to the first decade of the twentieth century.

Locke articulated his perspective on European modernism almost at the inception of the New Negro movement and in the same foundational essay, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," in which he called attention to African aesthetics:

> There would be little hope of an influence of African art upon the western African descendants if there were not at present a growing influence of African art upon European art in general. But led by these tendencies, there is the possibility that the sensitive artistic mind of the American Negro, stimulated by a cultural pride and interest, will receive from African art a profound and galvanizing influence. The legacy is there at least, with prospects of a rich yield. . . . Indeed there are many attested influences of African art in French and German modernist art. They are to be found in the work of Matisse, Picasso, Derain, Modigliani and Utrillo among the French painters, [as well as] Archipenko, Epstein, Lipschitz, Lembruch, and Zadkine and Faggi. . . . From the double source of African folk song and the study of American Negro musical rhythms, many of the leading French modernists have derived inspiration. Berard, Satie, Poulenc, Auric, and even Honneger, are all in diverse ways and degrees affected, but the most explicit influence has been upon the work of Darius Milhaud.

Locke went on to suggest that "there is a vital connection between this new artistic respect for African idiom and the natural ambition of Negro artists for a racial idiom in their art expression. To a certain extent contemporary art has pronounced in advance upon this objective of the younger Negro artists, musicians, and writers. The work of these European artists should even now be the inspiration and guide-posts of a younger school of American Negro artists."[51]

An additional nuance to Locke's engagement with European modernism emerged in the late 1930s as he became an influential curatorial adviser to some of the first exhibitions of Black artists at major American museums. The perspectives he gained from these experiences led Locke to conclude that future exhibitions and publications should display Black and white artists in direct juxtaposition as a logical next step beyond the segregated yet widely influential shows of the Harmon Foundation (from 1928 to 1933) as well as the landmark exhibition *Contemporary Negro Art* in 1939 at the Baltimore Museum of Art, which he helped organize.

In the fall of 1938, Locke proposed to the Carnegie Foundation that he produce a portfolio of images of Negro art as a companion to his popular volume from the series *Bronze Booklet* titled *Negro Art: Past and Present*, which would include "photographs of African art as well as works by New Negro artists and art [depicting] the Negro subject by White artists."[52] Locke wanted Carnegie's support, in particular, so that he could produce high-quality color plates that would appeal both to students and the Negro lower-middle

class. Carnegie rejected his proposal, writing that "there is a mistake in principle about this whole enterprise," prompting Locke to respond, in December 1938, that his proposal would have been accepted "had the project been framed merely as a record of the work of Negro artists." But, he explained:

> I am committed to the less established position of emphasizing the Negro subject as an art theme rather than the more chauvinistic position of merely playing up the work of Negro artists. . . . The work of the Negro artist needs documentation and . . . deserves it. Yet this emphasis in my judgment would be chauvinistic and reactionary if it were not threaded into the broader theme of the development of the art of the Negro subject, and in a way to show the collaboration of the white artist in an ever-increasing penetration into the Negro types as subject matter for American art.[53]

Jeffrey Stewart believes, even if Locke did not say so directly, that he wanted to do projects where "the Black body that he loved had to be the centerpiece of a book on Negro art that enabled Black subjectivity," and that including work by African and European artists in the same book with African American artists "would also be radical—and break down the racial segregation of canonical art history." This is a key moment in the evolution of Locke's thinking, as Stewart elaborates:

> [Locke's] proposal also rejected the notion that Black art could be studied in isolation, as not always in conversation with, reaction against, revision of the work of White artists and European and American art histories. Locke's book would reveal that the White artist had had a love affair with the very same Blackness that Western society routinely demonized. It had no chance of being recommended.[54]

In the 1939 Baltimore exhibition, Locke sought a further kind of integration in which the work of African American artists could be shown alongside that of the international African diaspora living and working in Paris, London, Amsterdam, and other cities where they interacted with expatriate New Negro artists. His success in including the work of the Black British sculptor Ronald Clive Moody, for one, established a starting point for this vision.[55] As such, that show became a touchstone for subsequent generations of artists and art historians as they insisted on gallery displays and exhibitions that assert, and maintain, the centrality of the New Negro movement to the overall narrative of transatlantic modernism of the early twentieth century.

Locke and Du Bois both knew many of the leading Black European artists and writers and featured them regularly in

Fig. 18. Albert Smith, *René Maran*, cover of *The Crisis* (May 1922)

their respective publications, exemplified by *The Crisis* cover featuring the French novelist René Maran, the first Black winner of the Prix Goncourt (fig. 18). Locke was also in close contact with the circle of Black French intellectuals who gathered for the Paris salon (Salon de Clamart) hosted by the Nardal sisters of Martinique, whose short-lived bilingual journal *La Revue du monde noir* published texts by Langston Hughes, Walter White, and other African American authors alongside writers from the Black French and global diaspora.

In subsequent decades, Locke's vision of juxtaposing the work of New Negro artists with that of European and African diasporan modernists has proved somewhat successful, on a limited basis, but with increasing frequency reaching into the present moment. Anecdotal observations, in the absence of formal surveys, suggest that while in academia the Harlem Renaissance is still routinely omitted from survey courses of early twentieth-century modern art and is found more typically in courses spanning a century or more of African American art, major museums, conversely, often commingle such displays in galleries of their permanent collections, possibly a consequence of the limited availability of representative works. Owing to the legacy of segregated collections, the best opportunity to achieve the kinds of transcultural but thematically linked displays that Locke sought may now be through special exhibitions, which, by virtue of select loans, can reconstruct some of the cross-cultural affinities, exchanges, and influences dismantled by racially motivated policies.

In *Aïcha and Lorette* by Henri Matisse, one of the artists specifically mentioned by Locke, there is an overt evocation of an African mask in the visage of the model Aïcha Goblet, in particular the flattened facial curves and faceted nose simultaneously visible frontally and in profile (plate 62). Equally modern is her seated pose alongside her fellow model. They both posed for Matisse in multiple paintings, but their social equivalence as depicted here, despite their racial difference, is exceedingly rare.[56] Most earlier European paintings that show Black and white women together typically assign a socially superior role to the white figure. The Chicago-based African American artist Margaret Taylor Goss-Burroughs adapted a similar format in her portrayal of a female duo, but the title, *Friends* (plate 63), makes explicit what Matisse merely implied.[57] Goss-Burroughs intensified this aspect of their relationship by depicting them with a near-identical facial styling, scale, and pose. While Matisse's model Laurette casually drapes her arm over Aïcha's shoulder, Goss-Burrough's friends are posed identically, with their hands crossed.

Fig. 19. Henri Matisse, *Woman in White (Dame à la robe blanche)*, 1946 (plate 69)

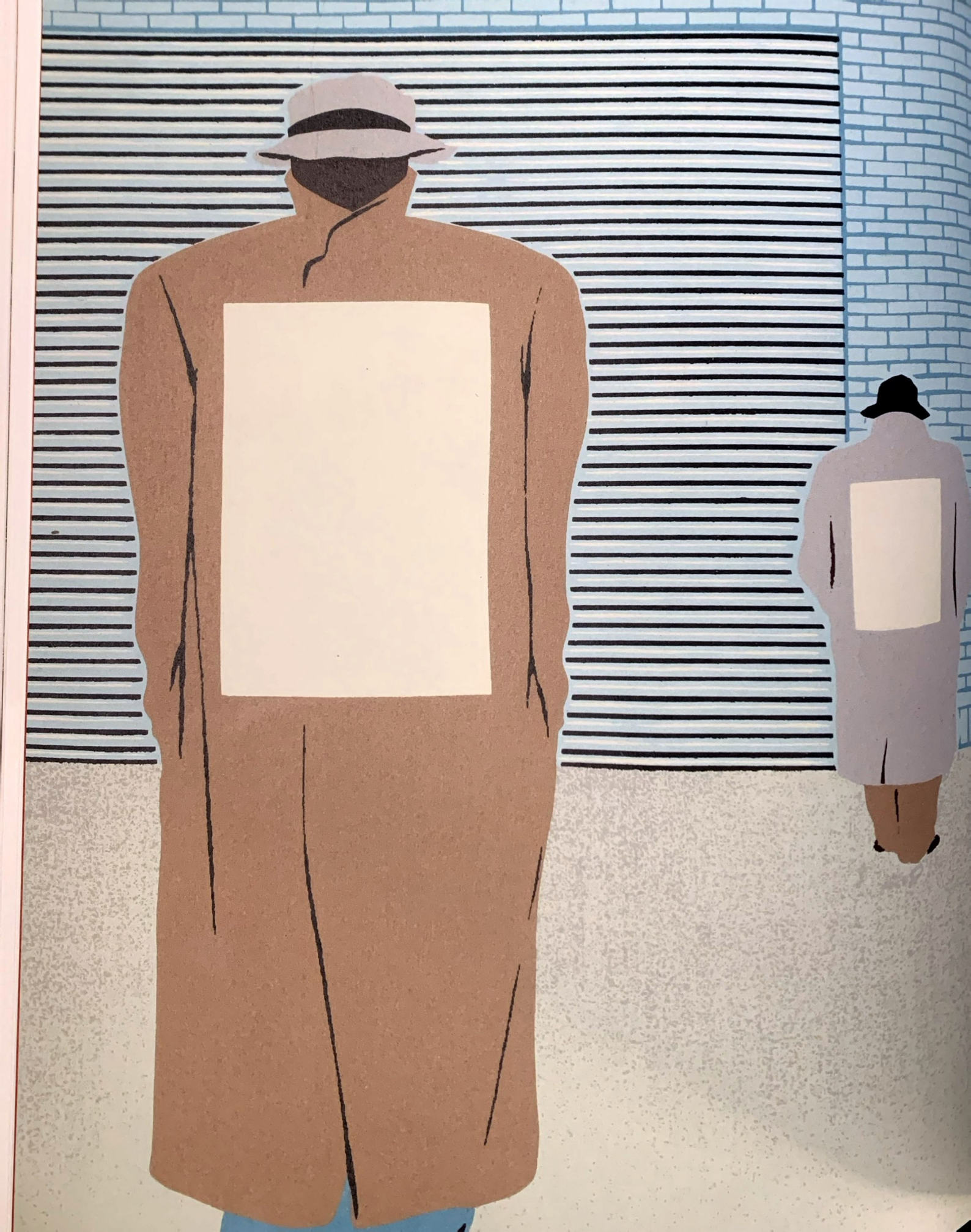
"The Negro," Locke wrote in "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," "is a far more familiar figure in American life than in European, but American art, barring caricature and *genre*, reflects him scarcely at all . . . whereas in Europe, with the Negro subject rarely accessible, we have . . . an interest that in contemporary French, Belgian, German and even English painting has brought forth work of singular novelty and beauty."[58] One important means of "access" to the modern Black subject for the European artist was the expanding number of Black performers who lived and worked in Europe, initially in traditional, racially stereotyped traveling ethnographic displays but increasingly through touring jazz

Fig. 21. William H. Johnson, *A View Down Akersgate, Oslo*, 1935

orchestras and as owners and performers at dance clubs that drew an interracial clientele. Motley's riveting painting *Blues* (plate 67), made during a one-year Paris sojourn, is part of a series in which the artist portrayed the Parisian nightlife and café scene.[59] His correspondence reveals that the title is a misnomer, for the painting was set in a club where French Caribbean and African habitués danced mainly to beguine and creole mazurkas in contrast to the jazz played in clubs near Montmartre.[60] *White Feathers (Plumes blanches)* by Kees van Dongen (plate 73), a Dutch artist active in Paris whose work was also cited by Locke, frames the delicately flattened, masklike face of a Black stage performer with one of the flamboyantly feathered and ornamented costumes from popular musical extravaganzas of the period. Edvard Munch's *Abdul Karim with a Green Scarf* (fig. 20) is one of several portraits by the artist of a man whom he engaged as a studio assistant after they met while Munch was sketching at a traveling circus in Oslo. Nola Hatterman's painting of the debonair Louis Richard Drenthe (plate 72) depicts the trumpeter with the Dutch jazz orchestra known as the St. Louis Rhythm Kings. Notably, the use of the subjects' names in the titles of the Munch and Hatterman paintings are recent revisions, the outcome of research and initiatives aimed at replacing anonymous, racialized nomenclature in recognition that such works are fully individualized portraits.[61]

Some of the works by European artists cited specifically by Locke reveal extended collaborations around shared aesthetic and literary interests. Picasso's portrait of Aimé Césaire (plate 75) reflects his work with the esteemed Martinican poet as the exclusive illustrator for Césaire's book *Corps perdu (The Lost Body)*. Picasso is believed to have collaborated with Man Ray to adapt some of the photographer's images of the Guadeloupean dancer Adrienne Fidelin (plate 78) as paintings, including *Minotaur and Woman* (plate 77).[62] Both artists depicted Fidelin through the lens of racialized exoticism but also recognized her as a muse of considerable stature (plate 68). The Belgian Congolese journalist Elvire Van Hyfte sat for several exquisite portraits from Matisse's final series

Fig. 20. Detail of Edvard Munch, *Abdul Karim with a Green Scarf*, 1916 (plate 71)



of easel paintings, including *Woman in White* (fig. 19) and *Asia* (plate 70), in which Van Hyfte is shown as a stylish icon of mid-twentieth-century modernity. Matisse's annotations of books shared with Van Hyfte, the wife of the Belgian consul and a neighbor of the artist at his Villa Le Rêve studio, suggest that her social visits with Matisse to discuss books led to her sessions sitting for the paintings.[63]

Despite Locke's early exhortation that the New Negro artist must engage with African and European modernist figural aesthetics, by the late 1930s, in the name of artistic freedom, he had acknowledged the importance of nonfigural work, including landscapes and still life, as valid options:

> There can be no question in this freest of all human realms—art—of imposing upon the Negro artist a special, prescribed or limited field. . . . Many Negro artists will choose, according to taste and temperament, to concentrate in abstract art . . . on still life . . . and landscape painting as the case may be and have a perfect right to. . . . The Negro artist . . . has often shied off from his richest pasture at the slightest suspicion of a Ghetto gate.[64]

The embrace of nonfigural painting by William H. Johnson during his periods of expatriation, as seen in works such as *Vieille Maison at Porte* (plate 79) and *A View Down Akersgate, Oslo* (fig. 21), has been described in those terms, but also as a manifestation of the stylistic influences of the European modernists such as Chaim Soutine (plate 80). Johnson's *Flowers* (plate 84), with its bold colors and thick impasto, resumes the modernist–academic debate when contrasted with Laura Wheeler Waring's more classicized treatment of the genre (plate 83). Suzanna Ogunjami, an artist thought to be of Igbo (Nigerian) heritage who studied and worked in New York, also opted for still life in works such as *Full-Blown Magnolia* (plate 85), a masterful study of the infinitely subtle tonalities of black.

THE ARTIST AS ACTIVIST: ON THE CUSP OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

While Locke expressed distaste for the didactic aspects of what he termed "protest art," some criticized the Harlem Renaissance as being "bourgeois, genteel, [and] lacking in political dynamism."[65] But the artists of the New Negro movement repeatedly produced imagery that gave visibility to inequity, police violence, and the terrorism of lynching that precipitated the formation in the early 1900s of the NAACP and fueled expanded civic and economic activism by other civil rights organizations. The sculpture *In Memory of Mary Turner as a Silent Protest Against Mob Violence* (plate 130), often described as Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller's masterpiece, memorializes the horrific lynching of a pregnant woman and was made after the artist read about the NAACP's Silent Parade of 1917 (see plate 128), which was held to protest such atrocities. Through its compositional originality it presents an almost indescribably powerful evocation of the racial violence that was a main cause of the Great Migration away from the rural South by millions of African Americans.[66]

William H. Johnson's *Moon over Harlem* (plate 129) engages with aspects of urban police violence that remain instantly recognizable today, an act of protesting this ever-present phenomenon by depicting it.[67] Roy DeCarava's small but potently enigmatic lithograph *Pickets* (fig. 22) renders two male figures as emblems of a movement rather than as specific individuals, conveying the artist's empathy with organized protests against racial and economic oppression. These and other works, together with the gathering momentum of protest demonstrations, processionals, and other forms of organized resistance to institutionalized racism, bring to a close this exploration of the New Negro era in the final years of World War II. The cultural, economic, and civic modernity shaped and reflected by the New Negro movement situated the African American community and its allies, domestic and abroad, on the cusp of the 1950s civil rights movement and the momentous events that followed.

Fig. 22. Detail of Roy DeCarava, *Pickets*, 1946 (plate 132)

THE BOYS IN THE BACK ROOM: GAMBLING IMAGERY DURING THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

RICHARD J. POWELL

In "The Prodigal Son," one of the poems by author and composer James Weldon Johnson from his Harlem Renaissance classic *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (1927), the narrator of this retelling of the New Testament tale of youthful transgressions and forgiveness facetiously announces:

> Young man—
> Young man—
> You're never lonesome in Babylon.
> You can always join a crowd in Babylon.

In the next stanza, the narrator relays:

> And the young man went with his new-found friend,
> And bought himself some brand new clothes,
> And he spent his days in the drinking dens,
> Swallowing the fires of hell.
> And he spent his nights in the gambling dens,
> Throwing dice with the devil for his soul.[1]

Aaron Douglas's *The Prodigal Son*, the illustration that accompanied the sermon of the same name, brilliantly encapsulates this passage (fig. 23). The artist's characteristic silhouettes are surrounded, à la Synthetic Cubism, by items that the religious-minded of the day might have considered sinful: a dice cube, a gin bottle, the trombone of a jazz musician, a dollar bill, and a king of spades playing card. Emphasizing the story's vices over its message of circumspection and clemency, Douglas underscored the grip of the pleasure principle on Black Americans: social indulgences that, while morally frowned upon, were psychological salves for an oppressed and beleaguered people. Although the sermon ends with an exhortation to virtue ("Young man, come away from Babylon.... Leave the dancing and gambling..."), Douglas's image situates him under a bright, stage-crafted spotlight that, as suggested by his flanking female companions and the evils encroaching from all sides, makes his entrenchment in iniquity and disregard for the sermonizer's warnings foregone conclusions.

From scenes in "all-colored cast" films to depictions in Depression-era paintings and prints, the theme of gambling spanned the breadth of the Harlem Renaissance and was an often-incorporated leitmotif by New Negro artists whose celebrations of Black modernism were constrained neither by the primitivizing desires and patronage of white sycophants nor by the condemnations or pleas for restraint from Black conservatives. As the penetrating gaze from one poker player toward another communicates in a scene from director Roy Calnek's temperance-inspired *Ten Nights in a Barroom* (fig. 24), cards were not just a diversion; they were serious business and, with a winning combination, a chance to turn one's financial circumstances—and one's life—from bust to boom. For these card players and the many others who populate the works under discussion, such as the cigar-chomping man guarding his chips in Charles Alston's *Stud Poker* (fig. 25), the goal was not simply monetary; the

Fig. 23. Aaron Douglas, *The Prodigal Son*, ca. 1927

Fig. 24. Still from the film *Ten Nights in a Barroom*, 1926

Fig. 25. Charles Henry Alston, *Stud Poker*, ca. 1938

validation of his manhood was also on the line, as was a reputation based on "street cred" along with the ingenuity and bravado that corroborates one's "cards."

"When I was in the fifth grade," recalled the artist Archibald J. Motley, Jr., about growing up in Chicago, "there was a poolroom around the corner from school." Motley continued, "I used to take my lunch, go over there, sit in the poolroom so I could study all those characters," revealing the critical distance, at an impressively early age, required for an artist to engage with potential subjects more effectively. "There was nothing but colored men there," he explained:

> I made it a habit to go to places where they gathered a lot, like churches, movie houses, dance halls, skating rinks, sporting houses, sometimes not only sporting houses but gambling houses. I knew a guy who was a gambler. He said to me, "I'm going to take you to the club tonight, Archie."... He took me to a darn place where they were gambling.... I sat there with him just watching them at the table playing poker, you know, gambling all night long.[2]

Decades after Motley had established himself professionally, those childhood queries into Black Chicago's leisurely activities—along with his subsequent fieldwork in the neighborhood's churches, theaters, after-hours clubs, and gambling houses—inspired a succession of vibrant genre scenes in which "colored men" play prominent roles and, through the implied narratives of each scene, pursue "the good life," as they would have conceived it, during the 1920s and 1930s. For men whose day-to-day existences were burdened by underemployment, backbreaking labor, inferior housing, disproportionate policing, physical violence, and racial indignities, "the good life" consisted not only of cabarets, picnics, barbecues, and fashionable promenades down streetlamp-lit thoroughfares, but also homosocial gatherings in which conversing, joking, bragging, consuming alcoholic beverages and tobacco products, playing billiards, and gambling were the *carte du jour*. The emphatic titles for many of these paintings, as with *The Plotters* (plate 10) and *The Liar* (fig. 26), belie their beguiling, complex compositions in which clusters of mauve-, russet-, and mocha-colored men, like the assorted chocolates in a gift box, tumble out from their pale surrounds to entice and seduce onlookers. Motley intuited that these real-life assemblies, transpiring in unlicensed houses and around gambling, drinking, and fraternizing, presented artistic opportunities for the interplay between close-up figure studies and two-dimensional designs, the latter in the guise of shallow room interiors, upturned

Fig. 26. Detail of Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *The Liar*,

Fig. 27. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *The Boys in the Back Room*, 1934

tables, wall-mounted billiard ball racks and framed prints, and figures in profile.

This mixture of a narrative associated with competition—as also seen in Motley's *The Boys in the Back Room* (fig. 27), a building-block design of silhouettes and flattened pictorial elements—invests his poker players with a modernity and a notable difference from, say, their stereotypical, late nineteenth-century predecessors in popular prints and book illustrations. Motley's figures, conceived unmistakably in the mode of illustrator Edward Winsor Kemble's Black poker players from the 1880s (fig. 28)—which he alludes to in the old-timey chromoliths that decorate the painting's titular back room—represent an update of the genre using succinct pictorial elucidations, a minimum of narrative details, and a palette of interlocking cool and warm shades. A master of the collage sensibility, Motley joined fellow interwar modernists such as George Grosz in an African American version of the German New Objectivity (Neue Sachlichkeit) painting style (fig. 29),

Fig. 28. Edward Winsor Kemble, "Whad Yo' Got?" from *The Thompson Street Poker Club* (New York, 1884)

or a visual collapsing of reality informed by the frenetic tempo and fevered temperature of contemporary life.

This modern mode of painting associated with the Harlem Renaissance, in which Black subjects perform ironic dark comedies or rhythmic call-and-response melodramas, was famously portrayed in Motley's *Blues* (plate 67), an image that captures the cheek-by-jowl cabaret scene that the artist experienced in Paris from about 1929 to 1930, during his time abroad on a Guggenheim Fellowship. It appears in another Paris-based work by Motley, *Sharks (Playing Poker)* (fig. 30), which was published in art historian James A. Porter's groundbreaking survey *Modern Negro Art* in 1943. Porter mistakenly dated *Sharks (Playing Poker)* to 1933, possibly assuming that the picture's ten Black poker players were indexically consistent with Chicago's African American Bronzeville neighborhood, the sources for much of Motley's post-Parisian works. But the painting is clearly signed by the artist and dated 1930, suggesting that Paris was the true locus of the scene, and made at a time when it was host to a multitude of Africans, West Indians, and Black Americans, some attending French universities, many employed in cabarets and theaters in the city's assorted entertainment districts, and all of them contributing to Paris's rich cultural life. The high-stakes card game in *Sharks (Playing Poker)* reflects how Motley and other members of Paris's Black diaspora brought these African American pastimes to the City of Lights. In doing so, the painting captures the psychosomatic pulse of *les années folles*, as seen compressed in a claustrophobic corner and in the expressions of intrigue and maneuvering on the faces of these men.

If Motley's *Sharks (Playing Poker)* and *The Boys in the Back Room* made Black male profligacy a fascinating yet fractious experience, Palmer Hayden's *Nous Quatre à Paris (We Four in Paris)* plumbed an even deeper, unsettling

Fig. 29. George Grosz, *Berlin Street*, 1931

Fig. 30. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Sharks (Playing Poker)*, 1929–30

psychological terrain (fig. 31). Painted after Hayden received a widely heralded Harmon Foundation award in 1926 and had relocated to France, *Nous Quatre à Paris* was built on multiple clichés, from the gambling theme's customary links with Black men to Hayden's stereotypical deployment of exaggerated Black bodies. "Is this parody," speculated art historian Petrine Archer about Hayden's pictorial transgressions, "or a crisis of self-representation peculiar to this moment?"[3] Ultimately, Archer rebuked *Nous Quatre à Paris* for its "aberrant modernity" and for succumbing to the "primitivist vogue" in Paris at the time. But for this reprimand for an alleged deviancy to have validity vis-à-vis the Harlem Renaissance's broader cultural project would require turning a blind eye to a significant corpus of that movement's creations: works of art that, like Palmer Hayden's canvas, consistently trafficked in uncomfortable racial representations.

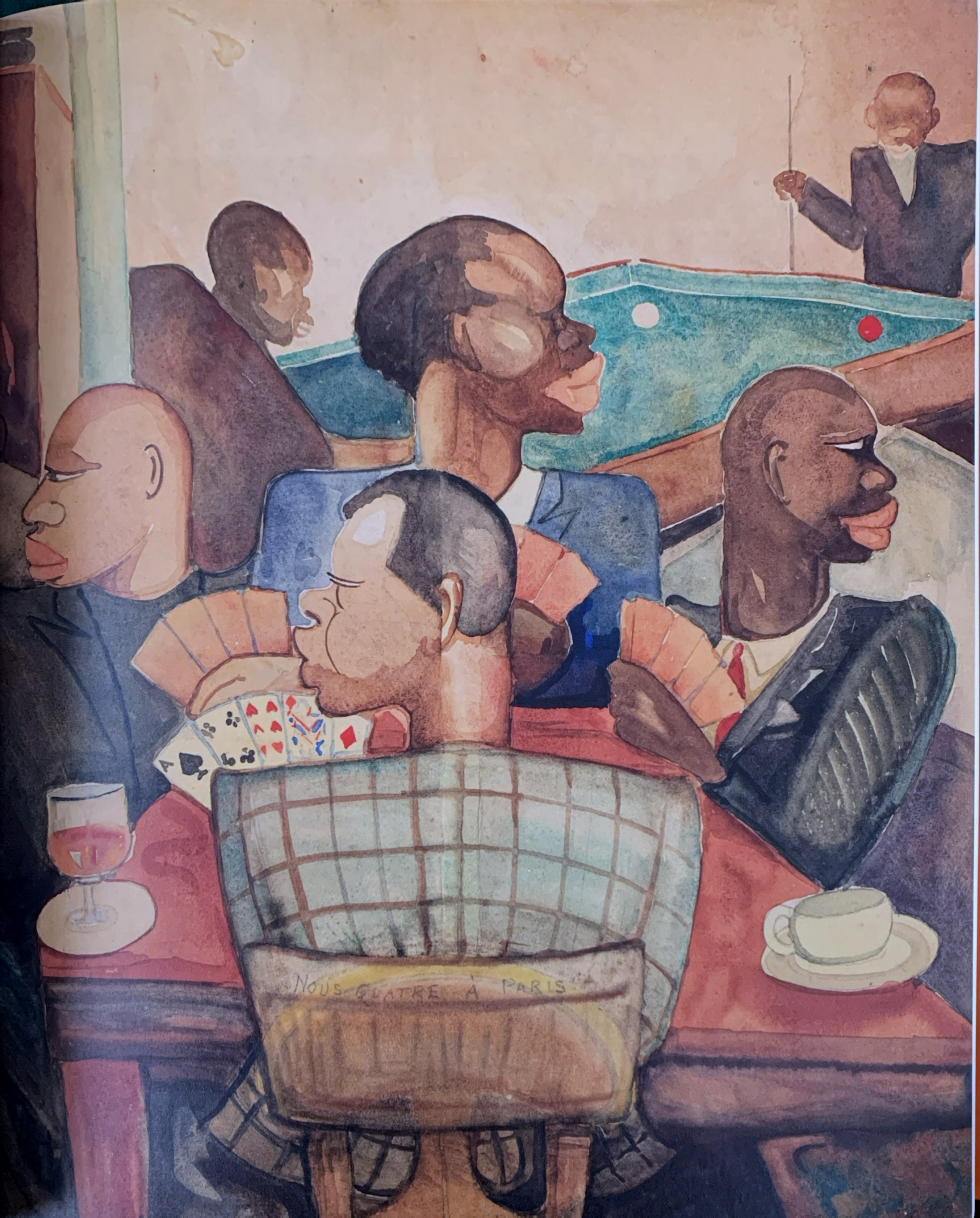
Although Porter likewise criticized Hayden, comparing the artist's "ill-advised if not all together tasteless" paintings to "those ludicrous billboards that once were plastered on public buildings to advertise the blackface minstrels," many of the Renaissance's leading visual and literary figures—such as Miguel Covarrubias, Aaron Douglas, Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Malvin Gray Johnson, Claude McKay, Motley, and Jean Toomer—were similarly "tasteless" when it came to Black subject matter and its artistic interpretation.[4] Consider, for example, the following passage from McKay's *Home to Harlem* (1928):

> Gambling was a bigger game than sex at this buffet flat. . . . In dining- and sitting-room, five tables were occupied by card-players. Railroad porters, longshoremen, waiters; tight-faced, anxious-eyed. Zeddy sat at the same table with the lady of the flat. He had just eliminated two cards and asked for two when Nije and his escort were let into the flat. Zeddy smelled his man and knew it was Nije without looking up.
>
> Nije swaggered past Zeddy and joined a group at another table. . . . Nije sat where he could watch Zeddy's face. Zeddy also, although apparently intent on the cards, kept a wary eye on Nije. Sometimes their eyes met. No one was aware of the challenge that was developing between the two men.
>
> . . . Nije got nearer to Zeddy. . . . Half-smiling and careless-like, he planted his bootheel upon Zeddy's toes.
>
> "Git off mah feets," Zeddy barked. The answer was a hard blow in the face. Zeddy tasted blood in his mouth. He threw his muscular gorilla body upon the tall Nije and hugged him down to the floor.
>
> "You blasted black [ethnic slur], say you' prayers!" cried Zeddy.
>
> "Ain't scared o' none o' you barefaced robber [racial slur]." . . .
>
> "Black man," growled Zeddy, "I'se gwineta cut your throat just so sure as God is white."[5]

The NAACP's W. E. B. Du Bois famously said, after reading *Home to Harlem*, that he felt "like taking a bath," a sentiment that conservative art critics surely echoed when seeing Hayden's *Nous Quatre à Paris* and its offensive cast of characters.[6] And yet, rather than the exception, the deep dives into the underbelly of Black life by both McKay and Hayden, who were acquaintances in Paris during this period as well as regular poker partners, matched the plebeian interests of the majority of the movement's younger artists: a preoccupation disparaged by establishment figures such as Du Bois and, later, Porter as well.

The audacity of Hayden's giving his artistic subjects full lips, wide noses, and dark skins in *Nous Quatre à Paris*—in opposition to the phenotypic proscriptions from that era's "color-struck" African American elites, and despite the painting's turn toward caricature—make racial Blackness the painting's focus and aesthetic benchmark. Similarly, the contradictory coupling of Black cultural pride and blackface was on full display in the French capital, most evident in Parisian theatrical extravaganzas such as *Lew Leslie's Black Birds*, a musical revue brought to the Moulin Rouge in the summer of 1929 after a successful run on Broadway. Among the show's

Fig. 31. Detail of Palmer Hayden, *Nous Quatre à Paris*, ca. 1928–30 (plate 14)


NOUS QUATRE À PARIS

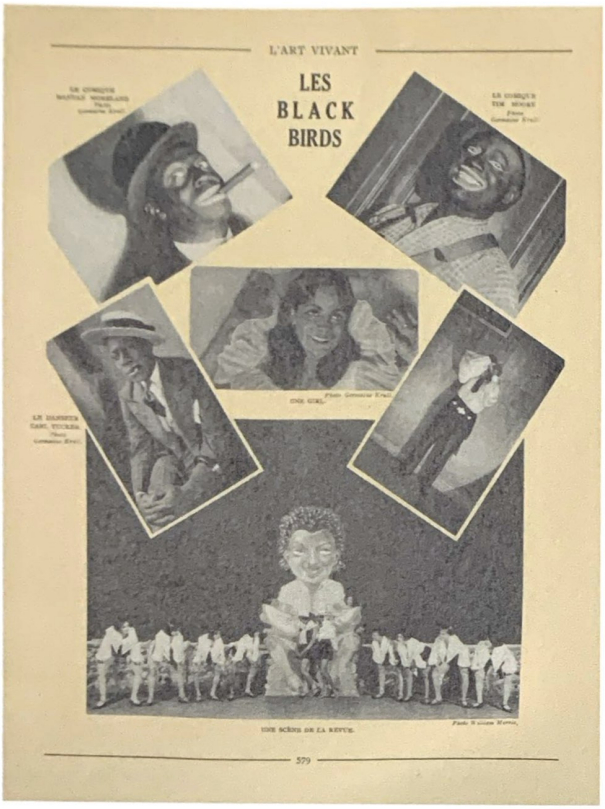


Fig. 32. Germaine Krull, *Les Black Birds*, photomontage published in *L'Art vivant* 110 (July 15, 1929)

Fig. 33. Paul Colin, poster for *La Revue Black Birds*, 1929

highlights was the blackface comedy routine "Playing according to Hoyle," a spoof on the science and art of playing poker, performed by the Black vaudevillians George W. Cooper, Blue McAllister, Tim Moore, and Mantan Moreland.[7] As documented by the avant-garde photographer Germaine Krull for the French journal *L'Art vivant* (fig. 32), *Lew Leslie's Black Birds* foregrounded the hijacking of blackface minstrelsy by African American performers: an act of cultural conjuring similar to Hayden's outrageous group in *Nous Quatre à Paris*.[8] That the talented African American comics, musicians, and dancers in *Lew Leslie's Black Birds* mesmerized Parisian audiences with this same odd amalgam of old stereotypes and modern artistry was suggested in Paul Colin's poster for *La Revue Black Birds* (fig. 33): a collage in the guise of a caricature that took the abstract forms of Fernand Léger and Joan Miró into the rarely explored realm of a syncopated jazz or blues aesthetic.

"You might live your life in many black belts and arrive at the conclusion that there is no such thing as a typical Negro," editorialized McKay about the incongruity of stereotypical characterizations such as Colin's and Hayden's when compared to real Black people. "Then one day your theory may be upset through meeting with a type by far more perfect than any created counterpart," McKay provocatively added, a proposition one might disagree with, considering Hayden's exaggerated figures, but whose logic resonated with sensate, artistically licensed, pictorial adaptations of reality. For example, looking at *Nous Quatre à Paris* alongside both photographed and freely drawn pictures of the renowned singer and actor Paul Robeson—by filmmaker Dudley Murphy and caricaturist Miguel Covarrubias, respectively (figs. 34, 35)—lends some credence to McKay's conclusion that reality was often "proof that a generalization has some foundation in truth."[9] But it could also be argued that *Nous Quatre à Paris*—purportedly a self-portrait of Hayden with fellow artist Hale Woodruff, the poet Countee Cullen, and an inconclusively identified fourth man—was actually more symbolic than

Fig. 34. Paul Robeson in a still from the film *The Emperor Jones*, 1934

Fig. 35. Miguel Covarrubias, *Paul Robeson*, ca. 1930

realistic, with none of these aforementioned members of Paris's African American "colony" vaguely resembling the depicted quartet. Despite its autobiographical locus, Hayden's *Nous Quatre à Paris*—like a left-and-right-facing jack, queen, or king playing card—denied its audience any "safe bets" about the artist's actual motives. Viewers are compelled to call Hayden's bluff, as it were, and join him, on the one hand, in a netherworld of inglorious, American-styled racism and, on the other, in an act of au courant Jazz Age escapism inflected through a Parisian lens and contextualized in a game of chance, odds, and tongue-in-cheek parody.

What do we make of Hayden's *Nous Quatre à Paris* having been created in Paris around the same time as the Montmartre-located Motley's *Sharks (Playing Poker)* or, concurrently, with fellow Paris-based painter Hale Woodruff's *The Card Players* (fig. 36): pure coincidence, or, perhaps, an unconscious collusion around a theme whose ineffaceable presence, by way of Paul Cézanne's definitive, multiple reworkings (fig. 37) compelled these young African American artists to try their luck with it? Woodruff's *The Card Players* could not be more dissimilar to Motley's and Hayden's paintings of this form of amusement, but its jagged shapes and planar composition also bear little resemblance to Cézanne's well-known prototypes of the same subject. Cézanne, whom Woodruff described as "[the] master I chiefly admired at that time," chose an uncomplicated, front-facing setting for his five horizontally oriented paintings in this series, each at variances with one another because of their peculiar hues and highlights as well as their differing numbers of cardplayers and onlookers.[10] If there is anything that Cézanne's and Woodruff's works share (apart from a title), it is the characteristic of their oil pigments, which both artists applied using heavily textured brushwork, segmented coloring, cloisonnésque outlines, and strong shadows. Like Hayden, Woodruff had been the recipient of a coveted Harmon Foundation award (in 1926), which funded four years in France, including a crucial period in the Provence region absorbing the same landscapes and atmospheric colors that Cézanne had digested decades earlier. "[We] cannot overlook the fact that in building his system of crucially disposed forms," wrote Porter about Woodruff's work, "he has relied heavily on his knowledge of French Cubism and its Expressionistic extension," an observation that certainly applied to Woodruff's *The Card Players*, which Porter also reproduced in *Modern Negro Art*.[11]

Porter and Woodruff would have vehemently denied that the abrupt, serrated geometry in *The Card Players* corresponded with similar elements in Colin's *Black Birds* poster, and yet the architectonic figures and intermittent patterning in both works signaled disavowals by both artists of anatomical and organic naturalism. In the case of Woodruff's painting, moreover, the forms gesture toward the "Afro-Deco"-inflected Cubism already initiated by Douglas. Indeed, the young man's circumferential temptations in *The Prodigal Son* have their counterparts in *The Card Players*'s red table, checkered game board, and orange pool table, all inverted and angled to imply a centrifugal dynamism. Woodruff's

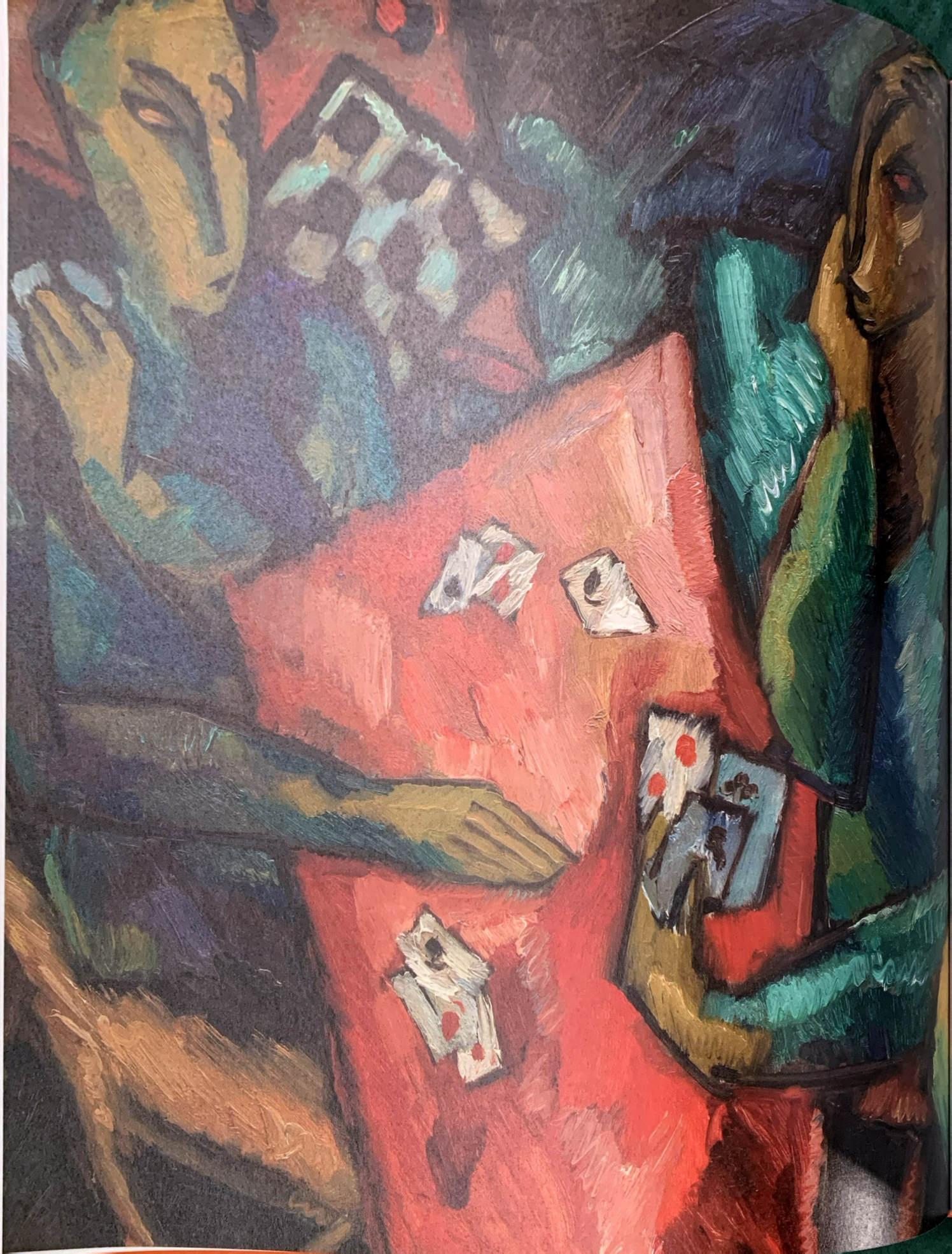


Fig. 37. Paul Cézanne, *The Card Players*, 1890–92

The Card Players also shares Douglas's visual debt to African art, with his two figures resembling traditional masks and statuary more than human beings. Woodruff later spoke about seeing "African art in the galleries and . . . shops in Paris" and "how Cézanne, Picasso, and the African had a terrific, unique sense of form."[12]

The similarities between the strange, yellowish heads of the gamblers in *The Card Players* and an archetypal Guro face mask from Albert C. Barnes's famed art collection (fig. 38)—especially the latter's diagonal slits for eyes, elongated nose bridge, and tiny mouth—did much more than bring Woodruff's painting into a modern orbit.[13] Woodruff's conferring of *l'art nègre* onto this theme, part Cézanne and part Black vernacular, initiated, to use the language of poker, a "call," or a mechanism to "compel [an] adversary to show [their] hand by 'seeing' his bet."[14] The "adversary" wasn't so much an actual nemesis as it was the other African American artists in Woodruff's immediate French community, which included, in addition to Hayden and Motley, William H. Johnson, Nancy Elizabeth Prophet, Augusta Savage, and Albert Alexander Smith: those painters, sculptors, and graphic artists who, along with Woodruff, were distinguishing themselves in the art world while also representing "the race" abroad through their professional achievements and artistic standards. Woodruff's call, as shown in *The Card Players*, amounted to a challenge of sorts: a provocation to his colleagues to take artistic risks and, employing an array of modernist art strategies and cultural citations, to produce something that moved toward what Porter would eventually label "modern Negro art" and, in the words of Alain Locke, would "break through the stereotypes to a new style, a distinctive fresh technique, and some sort of characteristic idiom."[15] By choosing the timeworn subject of card players—codified by Cézanne but popularized and parodied by contemporary Black entertainers and visual artists—Woodruff found the ideal premise upon which to superimpose his vigorous brushwork, vibrant colors, and two-dimensional quadrilateral forms, whose sum was a sophisticated rumination on Black freedom mediated through Locke's "ancestral arts" and an assortment of Black male "games."

Fig. 36. Detail of Hale Woodruff, *The Card Players*, 1930 (plate 13)

The significance of the gambling theme in African American culture cannot be overstated, and its cultural associations with Black men—whether in a sardonic way or, as seen in Dudley Murphy's "craps" scene from *The Emperor Jones*, as a metaphor for life's unpredictability—explained in part its efficacy for Harlem Renaissance artists as they developed narrative-centered works around risk management, exercising judgment, or racially orchestrated, ill-omened Black futures.[16] Douglas's print *Ma Bad Luck Card*, which accompanied Langston Hughes's poem "Hard Luck" in a special folio published in 1926 by the National Urban League's *Opportunity* magazine, explored this idea of fortune telling and fate from the vantage point of the African American folk tradition (fig. 39). While Hughes employed "the blues," a Black vernacular musical form, in his short sonnet, Douglas used his distinctive, protagonist-enveloped symbolism—a silhouetted man surrounded by tropical flora, decorative chevrons, and a reimagined three of diamonds playing card—to complement Hughes's bleak outlook. Having made the poet's acquaintance only a year or so earlier, Douglas put into artistic action what he had prophetically told Hughes in a now canonical letter outlining the aims of the Harlem Renaissance, namely, to "bare our arms and plunge them deep deep through laughter, through pain, through sorrow, through hope, through disappointment, into the very depths of the souls of our people and drag forth material crude, rough, neglected."[17] While the forlorn voice in "Hard Luck" was certainly drawn from coarse and folksy blues lyrics, *Ma Bad Luck Card* distilled those rough, African American plaints into sleek, streamlined forms, their zigzags and checkerboard effects subliminally relaying modern energy and cultural volatility within the Black quotidian.

Although the *Opportunity* folio was marketed to the magazine's demographically broad but largely educated readership, *Ma Bad Luck Card* and Douglas's four other illustrations would have recalled for some the fanciful black-and-white advertisements for "race records" in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, *New York Amsterdam News*, and *Chicago Defender* newspapers, especially in regard to the blues theme. Turning his head toward a three of diamonds, Douglas's man in profile was the modern art answer to Paramount Records' newspaper ad for "Jack o' Diamond Blues" (fig. 40), a song recorded by the popular singer/guitarist Blind Lemon Jefferson. Paramount's recording studios operated just north of Milwaukee (which made driving its Chicago-based musicians back and forth relatively easy), and research on Paramount has suggested that the artists who created these whimsical ads—including this one featuring a four-handed game, a decorative border of playing cards and falling coinage, and a jack of diamonds card featuring Blind Lemon Jefferson—were also from the city and possibly included one African American illustrator. It is not inconceivable that Douglas, who participated in Harlem's vibrant nightlife and appreciated that scene's eclectic soundtrack, would have known "down-home" blues music like that of Jefferson, and as alluded to in *Ma Bad Luck Card* and *The Prodigal Son*, he was intimately familiar with the culture of cards in African American communities.[18]

The author and anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston, an artistic compatriot of Douglas's and a member of his social circle in Harlem, complemented both his and Langston Hughes's artistic overtures to the folk in her short stories, plays, and novels, several of which use African American men at leisure and gambling as leading subjects. The following excerpt from Hurston's unpublished one-act play *Poker!*—a monologue by a character named Nunkie, who holds forth in front of his fellow cardplayers—is aligned in its colloquial manner with Douglas's gambling imagery as well as with similarly themed paintings by Motley and Hayden:

> Ace means the first time that I met you
> Duece [*sic*] means there was nobody there but us two
> Trey means the third party – Charlie was his name
> Four spot means the fourth time you tried that same old game –
> Five spot means five years you played me for a clown
> Six spot means six feet of earth when the deal goes down
> Now I'm holding the seven spot for each day of the week
> Eight means eight hours that she Sheba-ed with your Sheik –
> Nine spot means nine hours that I work hard every day –
> Ten spot means tenth of every month I brought you home my pay –

Fig. 38. Guro artist (The Bouaflé Master), Côte d'Ivoire, Face mask surmounted by a bowl (*gu*), late 19th century

Fig. 39. Aaron Douglas, *Ma Bad Luck Card*, from *Opportunity Art Folio*, 1926

> The Jack is three-card Charlie who played me for a goat
> The Queen, that's my pretty Mama, also trying to cut my throat –
> The King stands for Sweet Papa Nunkie and he's goin' to wear the crown,
> So be careful you all ain't broke when the deal goes down![19]

Hurston's rhyming inventory of card rankings—in the manner of a classic African American boast or a signifying street-corner soliloquy—brings to life the impromptu theatricality and one-upmanship in these games that paintings, as hard as they sought to simulate the orations of these minidramas, could only suggest. Of the visual artists whose creations delved deeply into this theme, Motley came closest to approximating such verbal acrobatics. His tête-à-tête plotters and side-glancing strategists embody Hurston's couplets through their mirrored, pattern-making torsos. Exclusively male domains in paintings such as *Sharks (Playing Poker)* and *The Boys in the Back Room* were the typical settings in which a cardplayer like Nunkie would have entertained fellow players and onlookers alike with his high-flying speeches and card game lore. The incidentals in Motley's gambling interiors—men's hats and caps, stogies, cigarettes, spittoons, whiskey bottles, beer goblets, and the occasional flashing of winning hands—further established this masculine ambience and its allied setting.

Compared to Hurston's lighthearted analogies between card hierarchies and their connotations, Blind Lemon Jefferson's lyrics for "Jack o' Diamond Blues" are psychologically dark and, in tandem with his earthy, high-pitched singing style and the song's halting, irregular tempos, bring to mind the more ominous, uncertain aspects of the world of cards:

Jack o' Diamond,
Jack o' Diamond,
Jack o' Diamond's a hard card to play
Jack o' Diamond once in time
He did rob a friend of mine...
Bet the Jack against the Queen
It's gonna turn your money green
...Jack o' Diamond made me cry
I expect to gamble until I die
...Jack o' Diamond is a hard card to play

Blind Lemon Jefferson's repeated "Jack o' Diamond, Jack o' Diamond" not only wailed a Deep Ellum–styled Texas warning to would-be gamblers; the card's diamond suit, as seen in both Douglas's floating three-spot in *Ma Bad Luck Card* and Woodruff's adamantine, upended red table in *The Card Players,* visually apprehended unsuspecting viewers with its part abstract and part emblematic iconicity. As Cubist as *The Card Players* is, considering it along with "Jack o' Diamond Blues" evokes Woodruff's early years in Indianapolis. In addition to studying at the John Herron Art Institute, Woodruff experienced the vibrant Black community of "Naptown," as Indianapolis was sometimes known, and would have certainly been familiar with the card sharks, street-corner musicians, and other purveyors of folk-urban culture on Indiana Avenue, the city's African American thoroughfare where his studio was located. The figure in green, with its abstracted head cradled as if in a melancholy, cerebral state, contributed to the painting's somber mood, and as in "Jack o' Diamond Blues," a haunting, barely audible drone seems to reverberate throughout *The Card Players*'s oscillating brushwork.

These disparate concepts in gambling imagery—the game's fatal and perilous consequences, as formally handled by Douglas and Woodruff, and its sociological and melodramatic roles in African American life, as seen in the narrative-based paintings of Motley and Hayden—made manifest the theme's cultural breadth within modern Black life and its philosophical implications. Although viewed as ungodly by religious orthodoxies and considered improvident across a spectrum of society, gambling's popularity among the masses as well as the upper classes pointed to its universal and prosaic position in many people's minds, in addition

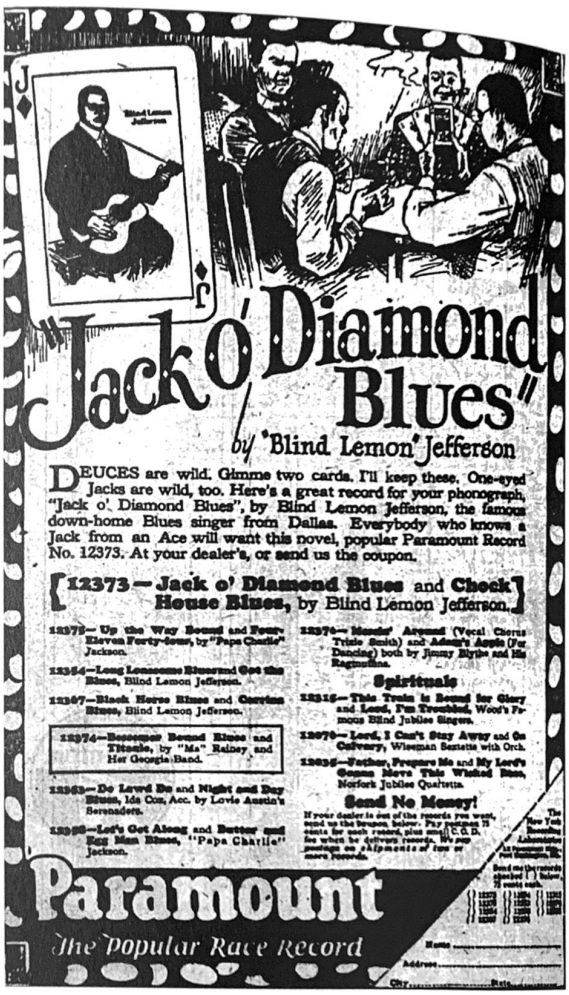


Fig. 40. Advertisement for Blind Lemon Jefferson's "Jack o' Diamond Blues" in the *Chicago Defender*, August 28, 1926

to its utility for imparting valuable life lessons and ethical exemplars, which in these instances were directed toward African American men in the competitive frameworks of chance, probability, and financial jeopardy.

The merging of these conflicting ideologies, and possibly one of the incentives for Harlem Renaissance painters and graphic artists to employ the gambling theme as part of a retinue of "New Negro" subject matter, can be found

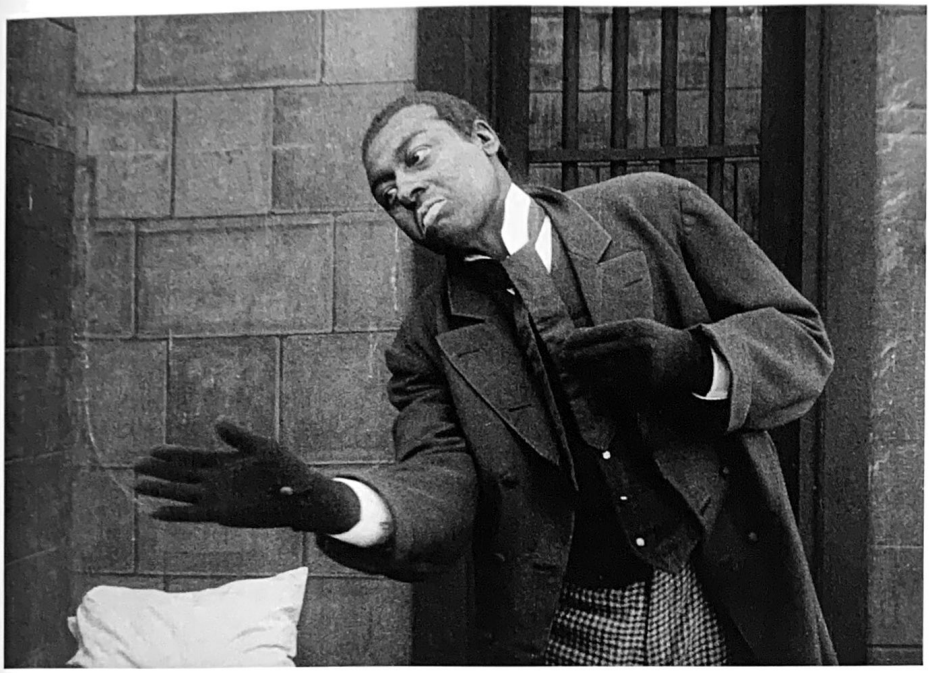


Fig. 41. Bert Williams in a still from the film *A Natural Born Gambler*, 1916

in a film created a decade earlier: the two-reel silent movie *A Natural Born Gambler* by the legendary Black vaudevillian Bert Williams (fig. 41). Essentially a narrativized, cinematic version of Williams's famous solo pantomimes for the stage of gamblers and their various antics, *A Natural Born Gambler* is updated with actors playing the various parts and scenery representing scripted situations. In Williams's singular fashion, he combined comic and poignant elements in his starring role, conveying the range of emotions and reactions an eager if hapless gambler might express. After the police raid the saloon and arrest the Black gamblers, and a judge has sentenced Williams's character to ten days in jail, the film brilliantly pivots to Williams employing his finely honed skills in mimicry, shuffling, and dealing invisible cards to unseen players. Using unrestrained facial expressions, he scrutinizes his hand and, with an air of resignation, relinquishes his imaginary chips and money across the table to a lucky opponent.

Imagine Williams's evocative extremities in *A Natural Born Gambler* suspended in space and time, and then anticipate, a decade later, Douglas's silhouette of a canny young sinner circumscribed by chimerical yet tangible enticements. It should not be a major conceptual recalibration to raise eyebrows at Williams's blackface practice and minstrel origins while simultaneously, looking forward, taking the perceptual effronteries and working-class comportments of Motley's and Hayden's cardplayers in stride, each painter reflecting the convoluted messages in African American performance art and coded, routine communiqués. For despite the comic veneer of *A Natural Born Gambler,* its underlying pathos—a consequence of the policing of Black men's freedom—will eventually assume, as seen in Woodruff's *The Card Players,* a Black modern form and a pronounced restlessness commensurate with a maligned but enduring culture of gamesmanship and speculation.

A CERTAIN REALISM: THE NEW IN "THE NEW NEGRO" PORTRAITURE

EMILY BRAUN

IF YOU happen to be invited to lunch at the Harvard Club in New York, you may find yourself in the main dining room, where formal portraits of eminent graduates line the wood-paneled walls. One portrait stands out from the rest in style and mien: that of W. E. B. Du Bois, the first African American to receive a doctorate from Harvard (in 1895). Powerfully graphic, the image isolates Du Bois's visage—and his race—against an expanse of white ground. The flat, contour drawing of his upper body in suited attire gives way to a startlingly different visual idiom for his head: a fleshed-out likeness, in full color and three dimensions, with the acute realism of a photograph. The label reveals other differences. Unlike most of the artworks in the room, it is pastel on board, not oil on canvas, and, moreover, it is a reproduction: the original belongs to the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D. C., suggesting that Harvard never commissioned a portrait of him (fig. 42). One last thing to note. Whereas other alumni break a smile or gaze directly at the viewer, Du Bois does not oblige. Rendered in 1925, thirty years after his Harvard graduation, the portrait's cool demeanor nonetheless captures something of the attitude Du Bois adopted there: "I went to Harvard as a Negro, not simply by birth, but recognizing myself as a member of a segregated caste whose situation I accepted. But I was determined to work from within that caste to find my way out. . . . Towards whites I was not arrogant; I was simply not obsequious."[1]

The portrait of Du Bois also stands out in a larger historical context. It was one of a series of Black intellectuals and "Harlem Types" rendered by the German émigré artist Winold Reiss.[2] Reiss's images accompanied two seminal publications, both edited by Alain Locke, that together declared the advent of the "New Negro."[3] The first of these—the March 1925 issue of the social-reform journal *Survey Graphic*, titled "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro"—featured Reiss's image of the renowned tenor Roland Hayes on the cover (fig. 3) and twelve additional named and unnamed sitters within, from a young Boy Scout to Paul Robeson, known to audiences for his lead role on stage in Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* (see fig. 50). Locke's declaration of a new era of racial pride was buttressed by journalists, sociologists, and anthropologists writing on topics ranging from Harlem as a burgeoning "race capital" to the effects of the Great Migration, jazz, and the Black woman's struggle; he also included creative writing by a cohort of authors who came to define the Harlem Renaissance. Reiss additionally provided a few "phantasie" illustrations, depicting Black figures in Harlem nightclubs, as well as "Africanist" vignettes in a dynamic, silhouetted style that would be taken up by his student Aaron Douglas (fig. 43).[4]

Fig. 43. Winold Reiss, *Interpretation of Harlem Jazz*, illustration in *Survey Graphic* (March 1925)

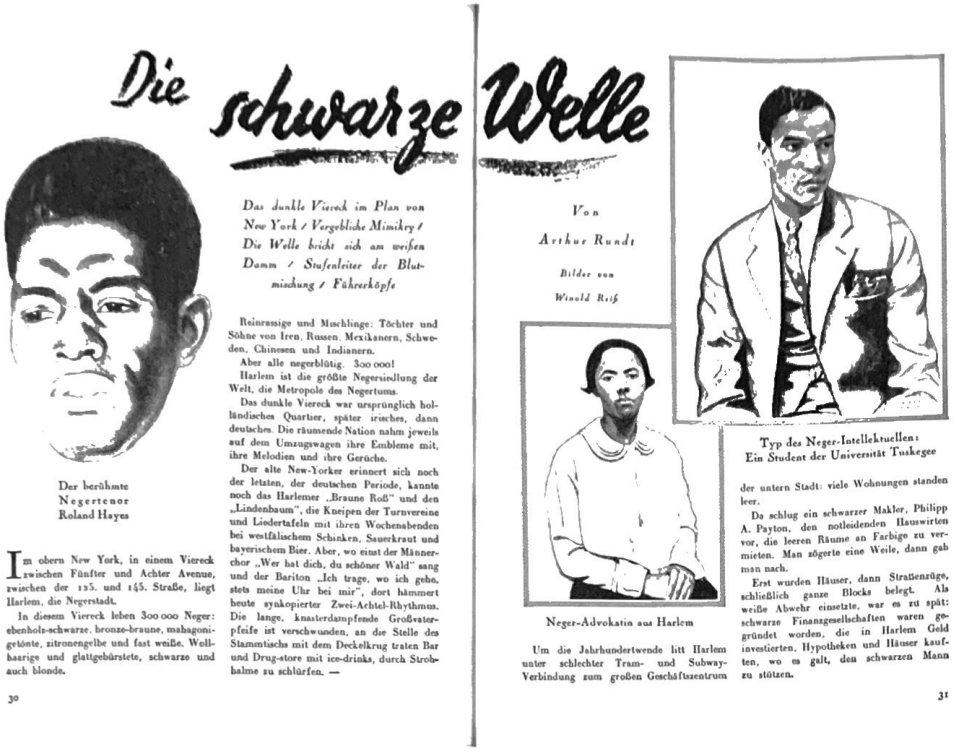
Fig. 42. Detail of Winold Reiss, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 1925 (plate 5)

Fig. 44. Winold Reiss, *Charles Spurgeon Johnson*, ca. 1925

Later the same year, the contents of that issue of *Survey Graphic*, which proved enormously successful, were incorporated into an expanded anthology of fiction, poetry, illustrations, and portraits (including that of Du Bois) under the title *The New Negro: An Interpretation*, for which Reiss shared title-page credits with Locke. These publications, both the magazine and the book, were aimed primarily at a white readership, even as Locke underscored the message of self-determination by drawing overwhelmingly upon Black contributors, including Du Bois and Charles Spurgeon Johnson (fig. 44), founding editors, respectively, of the NAACP's *The Crisis* and the Urban League's *Opportunity*. Locke's lead essay, "Enter the New Negro," insisted that improved race relationships depended on the cooperation of "enlightened" intellectuals and business leaders, that is, the "more advanced and representative classes" of both race groups.[5] Moreover, the publishers of the anthology, the Boni brothers, were Jewish, as were most of the publishers who supported the literati of the Harlem Renaissance: a coming together of outsiders and immigrants who, as George Hutchinson has argued, aimed to "disaffiliate American from 'Anglo-Saxon' literature."[6]

What made Reiss's bust and half-length images of anonymous school children, established professionals, and luminaries such as the poet Countee Cullen, the writer James Weldon Johnson, and Locke himself unprecedented both in their approach and the history of American portraiture was not just the firstness of their appearance in these epochal publications. Reiss fulfilled Locke's "New Negro" brief of countering the pervasive and pernicious stereotypes of African Americans by employing a certain realism: exacting in mimetic technique and based on direct observation of individual likenesses, distinctive in its allusions to modern visual culture, and assured in projecting the subjects' presence and unapologetic sense of self.

Locke also called upon young Black artists to embrace the "ancestral arts" and included photographs and descriptions of African tribal art in both publications, but that was clearly not an appropriate model for a novel racial portraiture, one seeking to remove the "mask of the comic and the grotesque" that had defined the "countenance of the Negro" in America.[7] Reiss's crisp and objective strategies of representation echoed Locke's demand for a "new scientific" interest instead of the "old sentimental" one, the latter epitomized by the degrading "mammies," "uncles," and "Sambo" images that had warped the perceptions of Black viewers into seeing in themselves "the distorted perspective of a social problem." It was time, Locke wrote, "to scrap the fictions, garret the bogeys and settle down to a realistic facing of facts."[8] Racist caricatures generated in postcards, advertising, and fiction added to their harm through ubiquity; significantly, Reiss's corrective images were likewise produced



Die schwarze Welle

Das dunkle Viereck im Plan von New York / Vergebliche Mimikry / Die Welle bricht sich am weißen Damm / Stufenleiter der Blutmischung / Führerköpfe

Von Arthur Rundt

Bilder von Winold Reiß

Der berühmte Negertenor Roland Hayes

Im obern New York, in einem Viereck zwischen Fünfter und Achter Avenue, zwischen der 125. und 145. Straße, liegt Harlem, die Negerstadt.

In diesem Viereck leben 300 000 Neger: ebenholz-schwarze, bronze-braune, mahagonigetönte, zitronengelbe und fast weiße. Wollhaarige und glattgebürstete, schwarze und auch blonde.

Reinrassige und Mischlinge: Töchter und Söhne von Iren, Russen, Mexikanern, Schweden, Chinesen und Indianern.

Aber alle negerblütig. 300 000!

Harlem ist die größte Negersiedlung der Welt, die Metropole des Negertums.

Das dunkle Viereck war ursprünglich holländisches Quartier, später irisches, dann deutsches. Die räumende Nation nahm jeweils auf dem Umzugwagen ihre Embleme mit, ihre Melodien und ihre Gerüche.

Der alte New-Yorker erinnert sich noch der letzten, der deutschen Periode, kannte noch das Harlemer „Braune Roß" und den „Lindenbaum", die Kneipen der Turnvereine und Liedertafeln mit ihren Wochenabenden bei westfälischem Schinken, Sauerkraut und bayerischem Bier. Aber, wo einst der Männerchor „Wer hat dich, du schöner Wald" sang und der Bariton „Ich trage, wo ich gehe, stets meine Uhr bei mir", dort hämmert heute synkopierter Zwei-Achtel-Rhythmus. Die lange, knasterdampfende Großvaterpfeife ist verschwunden, an die Stelle des Stammtisches mit dem Deckelkrug traten Bar und Drug-store mit ice-drinks, durch Strohhalme zu schlürfen. —

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Typ des Neger-Intellektuellen: Ein Student der Universität Tuskegee

Neger-Advokatin aus Harlem

Um die Jahrhundertwende litt Harlem unter schlechter Tram- und Subway-Verbindung zum großen Geschäftszentrum der untern Stadt: viele Wohnungen standen leer.

Da schlug ein schwarzer Makler, Philipp A. Payton, den notleidenden Hauswirten vor, die leeren Räume an Farbige zu vermieten. Man zögerte eine Weile, dann gab man nach.

Erst wurden Häuser, dann Straßenzüge, schließlich ganze Blocks belegt. Als weiße Abwehr einsetzte, war es zu spät: schwarze Finanzgesellschaften waren gegründet worden, die in Harlem Geld investierten, Hypotheken und Häuser kauften, wo es galt, dem schwarzen Mann zu stützen.

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Fig. 45. Arthur Rundt, "Die schwarze Welle," *Uhu* (August 1925), reproducing portraits by Winold Reiss (from left: *Roland Hayes*, *A Woman Lawyer*, *A College Lad*)

for mass distribution, in black and white for *Survey Graphic* and in color, printed on glossy paper, for *The New Negro*.

The Harlem issue of *Survey Graphic* followed upon special numbers devoted to nationalist movements in Ireland, Russia, and Mexico, although the magazine devoted its research primarily to labor, immigrant, and educational issues in the United States. Directed by social reformer Paul Kellogg, the monthly emphasized ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism. On-the-spot photographs and illustrations by the likes of Lewis Hine and Joseph Stella (himself an Italian immigrant) documented the changing faces of American identity. Kellogg had recommended Reiss to Locke based on the artist's well-received work for the previous year's Mexico issue. Reiss had debuted his portrait "types" in New York galleries in the early 1920s with his series on the Blackfeet Nation in Montana, Mexican revolutionaries, Swedish peasants, and Germans from the Black Forest, for which he was dubbed the "Holbein of the Humble."[9] In all cases, Reiss traveled to far-flung locations to meet with members of these communities and capture firsthand their visages and traditional folk dress. Although he lived in Greenwich Village, Reiss "had great difficulty in breaking into Harlem," stated Kellogg, "so we helped him make contacts," and the artist soon became part of an interracial, bohemian circle.[10] Unlike Reiss's previous subjects, the people who lived in northern Manhattan were not foreign, exotic, seemingly dying out, or "close to nature": as his images document, they were modern, urban, and dressed like most other Americans according to age, class, and profession. The Harlem issue was like none other for its graphic punch and the numbers sold (42,000); human interest in the "Black wave" even reached Reiss's native Germany, where his illustrations accompanied a feature in the German monthly *Uhu* (fig. 45).[11]

That a white artist was chosen to depict the "New Negro" was not without controversy, as we shall see, but Locke, who was a Europhile, embraced Reiss as the "folk-lorist of the brush and palette," even as he made well-meaning if inaccurate comparisons of his "racial" approach to that of Paul Gauguin in Polynesia and the post-Impressionists Walter Ufer and Ernest Blumenschein, who painted the Pueblo culture of New Mexico.[12] Reiss's German roots may have also been a plus: both Du Bois and Locke had studied in Berlin and felt relatively accepted there. For his part, Reiss expressed his personal pleasure in translating the expressive character of Black Americans into form and color, but also "the hope" that he might interest them "in the tremendous artistic possibilities that lie in painting their own lives."[13] Charles S. Johnson promoted Reiss as a "trailblazer" who had seized upon an

Fig. 46. Ludwig Hohlwein, poster for the Kaufhaus Oberpollinger München, ca. 1910

inherent and neglected "field of artistic materials, which even our Negro artists have been slow to appreciate." In a similar refrain, Locke explained that visual art by African Americans was in a nascent state and that the Black artist was "still for the most part confronting timidly his own material."[14] Reading between the lines, it seems that the genre scenes of an earlier generation (by Henry Ossawa Tanner, for example) or portraits by the young artists Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, Edwin Harleston, and Laura Wheeler Waring (who also did New Negro portraits, including a 1919 cover for *The Crisis*) were perceived by Locke as not modern enough.[15] In contrast to the soft, Impressionist facture that created a pictorial veil of "sentiment" and "nostalgia," Reiss's style was clear-eyed and precise. A "racial art," in Locke's view, at least through the 1920s, gave space to Negro themes and subjects by non-Black artists: what counted was the validating tenor of the treatment.[16] Only Du Bois pointed to the hostile reality of discrimination and the lack of opportunity: "There is in New York tonight a Black woman molding clay by herself in a little bare room, because there is not a single school of sculpture in New York where she is welcome."[17]

Even among white artists, however, the Bavarian Reiss was "ahead of his time," in the words of Locke biographer Jeffrey Stewart.[18] He and other scholars have likened Reiss's work to German Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity), a label applied to a range of realist idioms—from the sober to the uncanny—that emerged in the Weimar Republic after the trauma of World War I.[19] One can see a shared interest in the unidealized treatment of everyday types, the isolation of forms, and smooth surfaces. The question of what contact Reiss may have had with Neue Sachlichkeit trends is an intriguing one, especially given that he returned to his homeland for eighteen months from 1921 to 1922. He had earlier been a direct conduit for the transmission of Jugendstil and Wiener Werkstätte design, having established his own commercial studio and art school after his arrival in New York in 1913. Locke encountered the caricatures of George Grosz (unfavorably) while in Berlin, and German art periodicals such as *Das Kunstblatt* began to circulate the work of Grosz, Otto Dix, Rudolf Schlichter, and others in 1919.[20] Reiss had the 1924 Curt Glaser monograph on Max Beckmann in his library. But the graphic style of these so-called "verists" still carried a broken expressionist line, and satiric edge; the tight facture and dispassionate affect of the "classicizing" and Magic Realist modes of Neue Sachlichkeit (typified by Netherlandish artist Nola Hatterman's image of Louis Richard Drenthe; see plate 72) did not fully emerge until a few years later. Because Reiss's signature style first appeared in his

Blackfeet series of January 1920, he arguably drew on the same confluence of sources that inspired his German peers, rather than being influenced by them. First was the national tradition of a heightened, descriptive realism, stemming from Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach, that was revived in the late nineteenth-century peasant visages of Wilhelm Leibl; these are the artists Reiss glowingly mentions in his letters from Germany in 1921–22, not his German contemporaries.[21]

Second, Reiss was schooled in the linear economy and matter-of-fact aesthetic of the *sachplakat* ("object poster" or "objective poster"), for which German graphic design was renowned before the war and in which he specialized once he arrived in New York.[22] "Clear, simple and with strong effect," as Reiss described the *sachlich* depiction of a person or object, it had "to strike your eye and remain in your brain."[23] Like his subsequent portraits, the *sachplakat* favored abstracted, silhouetted forms against a solid white or color-blocked background. In particular, Reiss extolled the work of Ludwig Hohlwein, whose poster for the Oberpollinger department store in Munich (ca. 1910–18) bears the message "Alles kauft im," which cleverly reads as both "everyone shops here" and "everything can be bought here" (fig. 46). As is made clear by the figure in uniform, "everyone" also meant Germany's African colonial subjects, a stark contrast to the situation in American department stores, where Black people encountered discriminatory practices. Racist depictions of Black figures proffering coffee and other exotic offerings were a staple of German advertising, and in Hohlwein's repertoire this was no exception.[24] This depiction, however, while delineating class, age, and the rural and urban through precisely rendered, stereotypical specifics of dress and physiognomy, also toys with the visual identification of race through the variety of skin tones and faces in full shadow.

The third commonality with some Neue Sachlichkeit portraiture was the influence of the ostensibly neutral disposition of photography, which Reiss's representations of faces so effectively mimic in their consistently sharp focus and the strikingly lit planes of the head. "Here they are to be seen as we know them to be in fact," as Locke proclaimed of Reiss's portraits, even as we know that the photographic "fact" can be used to diametrically opposed ends.[25] Reiss's approach drew from books on ethnographic photography (which he had in his library), and with it, the problematic inequities of power between the portrayer (usually white Europeans and Americans) and the portrayed.[26] Such taxonomic images typically depicted people in a strict frontal or profile view, like specimens to be studied, and, in the related field of criminal anthropology, categorized them according to racist stereotypes of "primitive" or atavistic features. Du Bois had begun to counter the denigrating, pseudo-scientific imagery of Blacks in his "Georgia Negro Exhibit" at the 1900 Paris exhibition, for which he showed a variety of photographs evidencing the reality of middle-class African Americans, alongside statistics and charts documenting their economic and social progress. The variety of skin tones, hair, physiognomies, fine apparel, and well-appointed interiors to be seen challenged the prevailing mug-shot construct.[27] He continued this antiracist project with the drawn and photographic images regularly published in the pages of *The Crisis*. Reiss's renderings too reveal "the individual behind the physiognomy"; they both depend upon and "break out of the conventions of type studies," as the scholar Anne Elizabeth Carroll has argued, and in their narrative sequence within Locke's assembly of texts offer corroborating evidence of the "Americanization" of Blacks in the northern cities.[28] But Reiss did something else: he juxtaposed the photographic specificity of the faces with hand-drawn renditions of their bodies, imbuing his images of the "folk" with a modern look and the real and symbolic capital of unique works of art.

The placement of Reiss's images within the issue of *Survey Graphic* underscored the larger directives of self-improvement and self-pride, foremost through education. The visual tropes of literacy had been critical to Black social advancement ever since the 1773 portrait of the poet Phillis Wheatley showed her with a book and putting pen to paper.[29] The "Harlem Types" begins with the "exotic," disembodied head of "Congo," a man with an Afro, followed by unnamed individuals, in plain but proper dress, who represent a class or group and the process of upward class mobility: "Young America: native born," a mother and child, a lawyer. It culminates with the young, gifted, and Black *College Lad*, attired in a three-piece suit (see fig. 45).[30] The second sequence, "Four Portraits of Negro Women," leads from the anonymous *A Woman from the Virgin Islands*, a testament to the growing

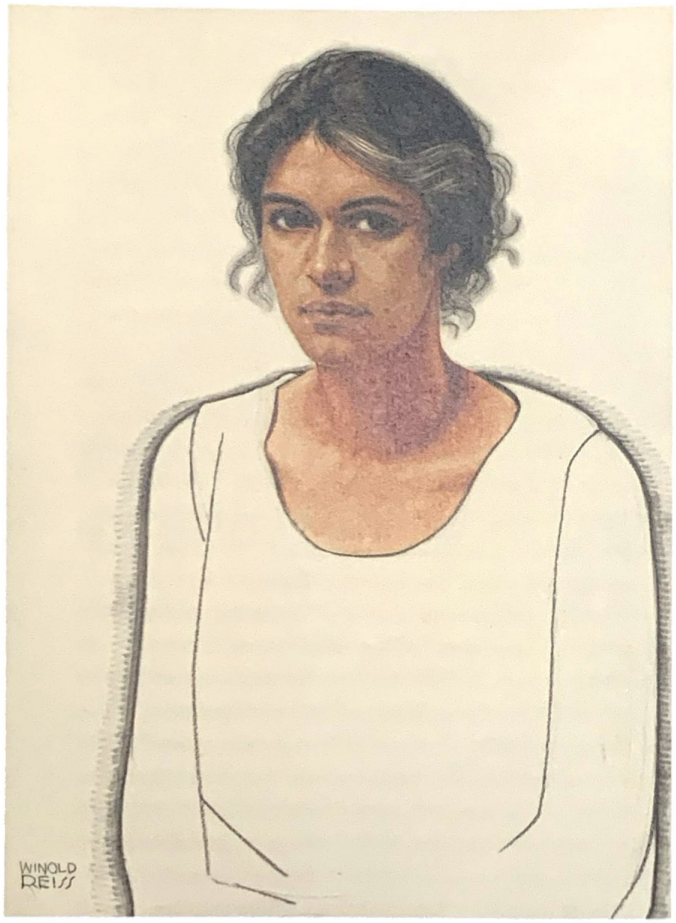
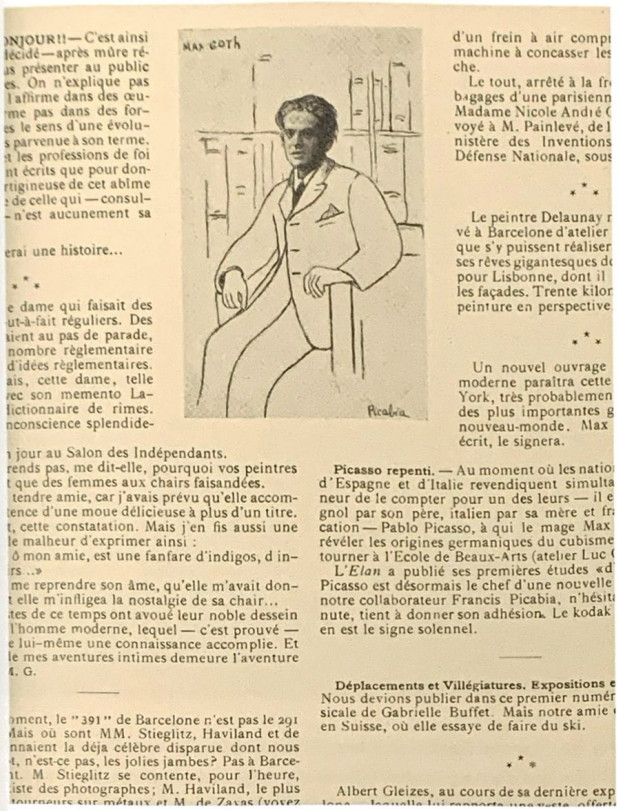


Fig. 47. Winold Reiss, *Elise J. McDougald*, 1924

West Indian population of Harlem, to those labeled by profession. The snappily dressed *Librarian* (see fig. 50) carries her hefty book in a gloved hand; the subjects of *Two Public School Teachers* wear their Phi Beta Kappa keys (plate 105). That teaching was both a ticket to the middle class and a desirable career for women was underscored by the final image of leading educator Elise Johnson McDougald (fig. 47), who was also responsible for bringing some of the sitters to Reiss. In her essay "The Double Task" for *Survey Graphic*, McDougald decried the exclusion of Black female beauty from the fine arts, noting instead the countless portrayals used "to provoke the mirthless laugh of ridicule" or depict "feminine viciousness or vulgarity not peculiar to Negroes."[31] McDougald's own light complexion pales in comparison to the chromatic richness of tonal modeling lavished on other visages by Reiss, even as it signified the conflicted privilege attached to those closer to the appearance of the white race.

A telling distinction emerges in Reiss's characterization of the highly educated so-called race leaders (including McDougald and Mary McLeod Bethune) whom Du Bois referred to as the "Talented Tenth." Their full-page, named portraits appeared in *The New Negro* anthology alongside their respective written contributions. Locke, Du Bois, Robert Moton, Cullen, and others are seen in dapper, masculine suits and ties. For Black men in racist America to dress in such conspicuously tailored attire, as Richard J. Powell has written, signified "modernity, freedom, oppositionality, and power."[32] Whereas Reiss typically detailed the clothing of the "Harlem Types" with color and shading, here the upper bodies are abstracted in a minimal, if fluid, contour line. Is it a coincidence that these images echo Picasso's contemporary neoclassical style, in turn an homage to the pencil portraits of Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, in which he carefully detailed the faces, leaving the rest of the figure schematically rendered? Picasso's new manner was announced with his portrait of Max Jacob, published in *L'Élan* in December 1916; a month later, his about-face from Cubism was publicized in the pages of *391* by Francis Picabia, who substituted a photomontage for a hand-drawn head to satirize the stylistic disjunction (fig. 48). By the time of Reiss's New Negro portraits, Picasso's edgy classicism had been widely discussed and published in major European and American avant-garde journals (*The Dial*, *Broome*, *The Arts*), circulated in the programs for the Ballets Russes, reproduced in Maurice Raynal's 1921 monograph on the artist (published first in Germany), and could have been seen firsthand in his one-artist show at the Wildenstein Galleries in New York, in 1923. It was, in short, everywhere.[33] While much has been made, then and now, of Picasso's "primitivism," namely, his use of African tribal sculpture in the invention of Cubism, the artist had moved on, and the art world had taken note.

Just as Picasso's drawings updated contour-line portraiture to create the era's defining images of Parisian luminaries



NJOUR!! — C'est ainsi
écidé — après mûre ré-
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* * *

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ais, cette dame, telle
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MAX GOTH

Picabia

d'un frein à air compr
machine à concasser les
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Le tout, arrêté à la fr
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Madame Nicole André
voyé à M. Painlevé, de l
nistère des Inventions
Défense Nationale, sous

* * *

Le peintre Delaunay r
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que s'y puissent réaliser
ses rêves gigantesques d
pour Lisbonne, dont il
les façades. Trente kilor
peinture en perspective

* * *

Un nouvel ouvrage
moderne paraîtra cette
York, très probablemen
des plus importantes g
nouveau-monde. Max
écrit, le signera.

jour au Salon des Indépendants.
rends pas, me dit-elle, pourquoi vos peintres
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tendre amie, car j'avais prévu qu'elle accom-
tence d'une moue délicieuse à plus d'un titre.
t, cette constatation. Mais j'en fis aussi une
le malheur d'exprimer ainsi :
ô mon amie, est une fanfare d'indigos, d in-
rs ..»
me reprendre son âme, qu'elle m'avait don-
t elle m'infligea la nostalgie de sa chair...
tes de ce temps ont avoué leur noble dessein
l'homme moderne, lequel — c'est prouvé —
e lui-même une connaissance accomplie. Et
le mes aventures intimes demeure l'aventure
t. G.

Picasso repenti. — Au moment où les natio
d'Espagne et d'Italie revendiquent simulta
neur de le compter pour un des leurs — il e
gnol par son père, italien par sa mère et fr
cation — Pablo Picasso, à qui le mage Max
révéler les origines germaniques du cubisme
tourner à l'Ecole de Beaux-Arts (atelier Luc
L'*Elan* a publié ses premières études «d
Picasso est désormais le chef d'une nouvelle
notre collaborateur Francis Picabia, n'hésit
nute, tient à donner son adhésion. Le kodak
en est le signe solennel.

Déplacements et Villégiatures. Expositions e
Nous devions publier dans ce premier numér
sicale de Gabrielle Buffet. Mais notre amie
en Suisse, où elle essaye de faire du ski.

* * *

Albert Gleizes, au cours de sa dernière exp

ment, le "391" de Barcelone n'est pas le 291
Mais où sont MM. Stieglitz, Haviland et de
nnaient la déjà célèbre disparue dont nous
t, n'est-ce pas, les jolies jambes? Pas à Barce-
it. M. Stieglitz se contente, pour l'heure,
iste des photographes; M. Haviland, le plus

Fig. 48. Francis Picabia, *Max Goth*, illustration accompanying "Odeurs de Partout" ("Whispers from Abroad"), published in *391* (January 1917)

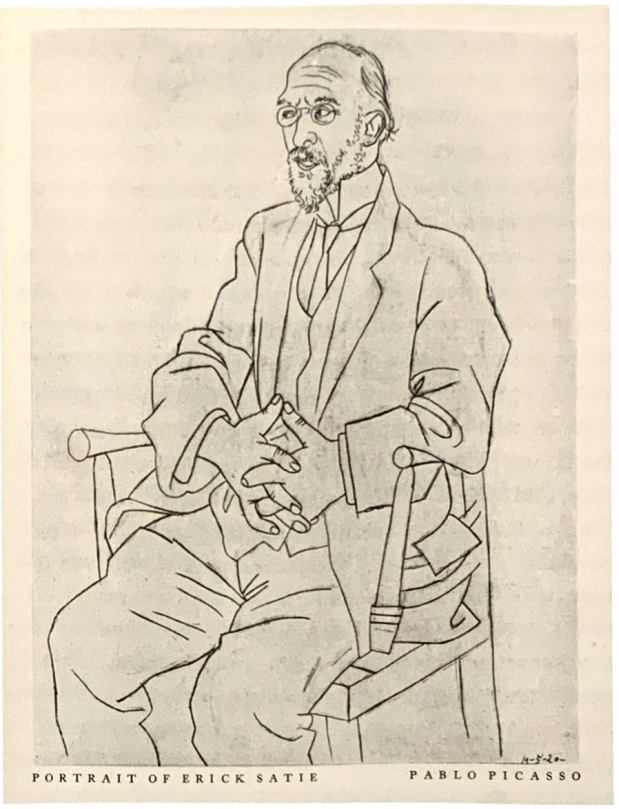


Fig. 49. Pablo Picasso, *Erik Satie*, reproduced in *The Arts* (May 1923)

such as Jacob, André Derain, Léonide Massine, Erik Satie (fig. 49), and himself, so too did Reiss adopt this idiom to depict members of the African American cultural elite. In the portraits of Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson, a thick black line winds down from their collars and tucks under their jackets; these are lanyards that possibly carried the keys of their prestigious Black fraternities: Alpha Phi Alpha and Phi Beta Sigma, respectively. At times, Picasso's pencil portraits of the early 1920s veered into slight exaggeration, and he often left the faces in pure outline, unmodeled and white as the page. Reiss could not take either tack in his racial portraiture. What has not been emphasized enough is that his portrayals refuse any allusion to "primitivism," in either style or motif, despite the precedent by German Expressionist artists; he would leave that to his vignettes or, more important, to Black artists, such as Malvin Gray Johnson.[34] Instead, Reiss ingeniously employed color and line to undermine centuries of racist representations. Even as he demarcated the luminously modeled Black faces and hands from the expanse of white ground, he inserted his sitters into the newly modernized lineage of the Western portrait tradition, no longer as enslaved individuals or ornamental objects off to the side but as the sole, stately subjects.[35] Exceptionally, Reiss reversed the black and white dichotomy in his image of Jean Toomer (National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C., ca. 1925), the author of *Cane* (1923), the celebrated novel about Southern Black life; his suit is an unbroken swath of jet black, making his complexion tones lighter by comparison,

and an agitated aura of shading fills the background. Not only was Toomer of mixed ancestry, he equivocated on identifying himself as Black.[36]

Save for young children who wear age-appropriate, diffident expressions, the sitters portrayed by Reiss exude confidence. Alongside the nuanced modeling of faces that defy the opaque monotony of caricatural blackface, Reiss documented a range of subjectivities that work against the scourge of stereotype. Some individuals look off to the side, discriminating and alert, even when seemingly absorbed in thought; others look directly at—even through—the viewer, and do not break a smile. Reiss has been hailed by many observers for his empathetic depictions of Black subjects, but empathy, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. At the time, one African American viewer reacted to the women in the *Two Public School Teachers* as "forbidding."[37] The lack of affability or informality, the poise or wistful aloofness that Reiss afforded his sitters, underscores what was new in his New Negro portraiture. They project a "cool conduct," to use a term applied to the Neue Sachlichkeit sensibility.[38] Reiss depicts them with presence (they physically fill the pictorial space and command the foreground plane) and as self-distancing. They need not perform, in what Locke described as "a sort of protective social mimicry" that had characterized the "Old Negro" for generations. Their self-possession reversed the usual terms of the color-line equation: not how the white viewer looks at or evaluates them, but how they may or may not choose to regard the white viewer. In the words of the poet Langston Hughes, "If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too."[39]

Reiss's portraits, however, were too new for many in the Black community. His white identity colored the reception, as did his realism. An editorial in the influential Chicago monthly *The Messenger* faulted Reiss for the "pre-conceived notion of what the Negro looks like," a critique seconded by Jessie Fauset, the novelist and literary editor of *The Crisis*.[40] Just as the *Survey Graphic* issue hit the streets in March, a large exhibition of Reiss's pastels, *Recent Portraits of Representative Negroes*, opened at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, part of head librarian Ernestine Rose's efforts to turn it into a Harlem cultural center (fig. 50).

Fig. 50. "German Painter's Harlem Exhibit of Colored Subjects," in *New York Evening Journal* (March 30, 1925), showing Ernestine Rose, librarian (seated), with works by Winold Reiss (clockwise from lower left: *Black Prophet*, *The Librarian*, *Sari Price Patton*, *Paul Robeson*, and *African Phantasie Sunkiss*)

The community's reactions, pro and con, aired during a lively forum at the library, were revealing. One man expressed angrily that the visages of the subjects of *Two Public School Teachers* were unappealing and a "sinister move to prevent the hiring of Negro teachers." That negative perception, someone else countered, was the unfortunate result of the race's "inferiority complex"; after all, textbooks, newspapers—even fairy tales—were all illustrated for white people, distorting African American notions of what was beautiful and interesting.[41] Indeed, Aaron Douglas wrote to his fiancée, Alta Sawyer, of how marvelous the portraits were, but many Blacks remained unconvinced: "We are possessed, you know, with the idea that is it necessary to be white, to be beautiful. . . . It takes lots of training or a tremendous effort to

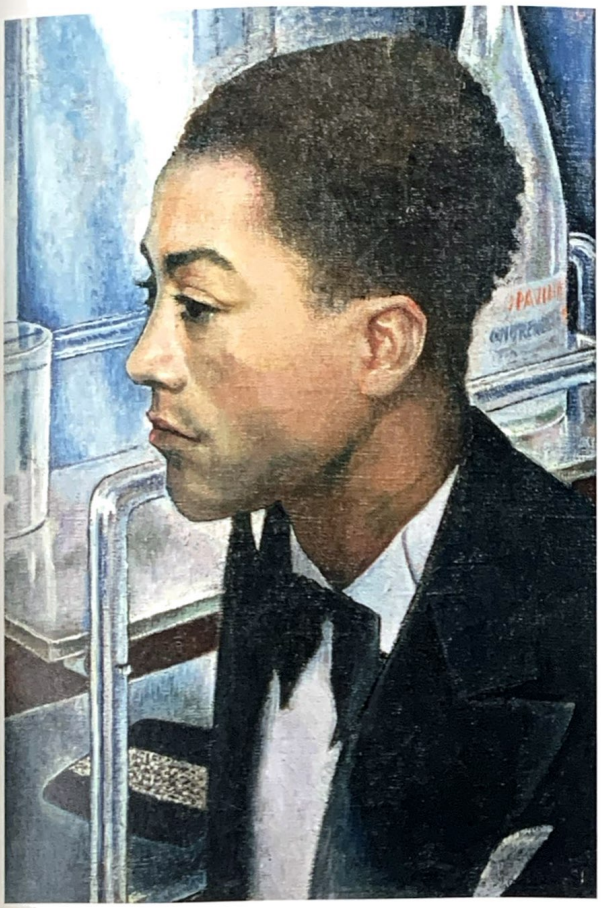


Fig. 51. Glyn Philpot, *M. Julien Zaire (Tom Whiskey)*, 1932

down the idea that thin lips and a straight nose is the apogee of beauty. But once free you can look back with a sigh of relief and wonder how anyone could be so deluded."[42]

Shortly after the heated library forum, Locke took on the naysayers, whom he called "Philistines" in an editorial in *Opportunity*. The "psychological bleach of lily-whitism" led Black Americans to judge themselves according to the inhibiting social standards of "'representative' and 'unrepresentative,' 'favorable' and 'unfavorable,'" he wrote, and stymied new modes of expression.[43] Langston Hughes stated it more bluntly: Reiss's images were "too Negro" for the "smug" middle classes and the "Nordicized" intelligentsia who preferred "the mold of American standardization" (and were ashamed of the soulful expressions of jazz, spirituals, ribald cabaret culture, and the trials of the Black working class that Hughes and other writers chose to exalt and parody).[44] They had roiled racial self-perceptions and brought class divisions to the fore:

> . . . the storm broke on the Reiss drawings. They were terrible! And anyone defending them had to answer questions like these: "Why does he make his subjects so colored?" (As though they weren't colored.) And of the two school teachers pictured in the book: "Couldn't he find any better looking school teachers to paint than these two women?" (As though all teachers should resemble the high-yellow ladies dominating the Washington school system.) And always: "Does he call this art?" I said it was art and that the dark-skinned school teachers were beautiful. But one day a nice old grandmother, with whom I dislike to disagree, summed up everybody's aversion to [Rudolph] Fisher, Toomer, [Eric] Walrond and the Reiss drawings in one indefinite but pregnant remark, "Lord help these bad New Negroes."[45]

Despite the controversy, Kellogg commissioned Reiss to travel to South Carolina to depict the Gullah-speaking residents of St. Helena Island, considered to be descendants of the last Africans brought by the slave trade to the United States, for another *Survey Graphic* issue.[46] Reiss's penetrating focus on likeness and velvety modeling of faces made an immediate impact on the portrait drawings of young Black artists such as Lois Mailou Jones, Robert Savon Pious, and Aaron Douglas (see his rendering of the *Scottsboro Boys;* plate 131). Given that Reiss's images were reproduced widely, the question arises as to whether British artist Glyn Philpot's homoerotic portrait of the cabaret performer M. Julien Zaire (fig. 51), one of several Black subjects he painted, was inspired by Reiss's long-lashed Countee Cullen or the dreamy portrait of Langston Hughes that graced the cover of *Opportunity* in March 1927. For his part, perhaps Locke, who was "a closeted but unapologetic gay man," saw how Reiss's "New Negro" portraiture was unprecedented, too, in its "matter-of-fact" perusal of Black male beauty.[47]

Reiss had hoped the drawings would be shown elsewhere, but they traveled on exhibition later that fall only to the Utica Public Library, in upstate New York. Nor were local galleries interested in taking them on; the artist's son, Tjark, later recalled that none would show the New Negro series,

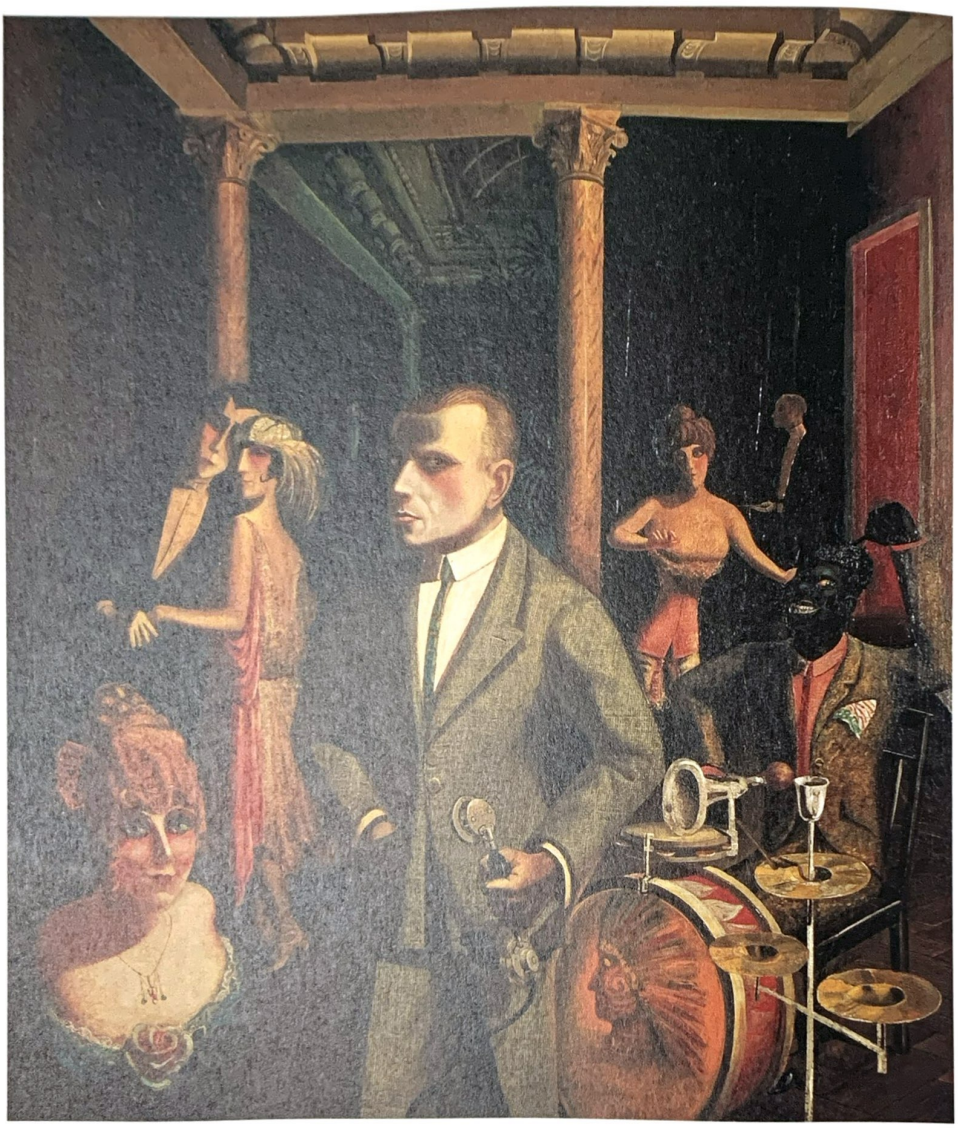


Fig. 52. Otto Dix, *To Beauty*, 1922

concerned that the potential presence of Black visitors would offend their "regular clientele."[48] Interestingly, that concern did not hold back George Hellman of the New Gallery at Madison Avenue and 58th Street, who offered the Chicago artist Archibald Motley an exhibition in 1927; to the contrary, when it opened the following February, Hellman promoted it as the "first one-man show in New York of a negro artist," and "a real piece of news.... Hundreds of people flocked in."[49] The press coverage was notable, and the paintings found many buyers, including the portrait *Blaine, a Convalescent*, purchased by the prominent collector Chester Dale.[50]

Independent of Reiss, Motley had been conceiving his own approach to New Negro portraiture—one he tellingly called "honest" and "sincere"—in his series of mixed-race "types," such as *Octoroon Girl* (plate 106).[51] The female subject's frozen stare and the picture's uncanny stillness, broken only by the lascivious-looking, little mustached figurine leering out at the viewer, again prompt a comparison with the pictorial strategies of Neue Sachlichkeit and the provocative engagement by German artists with social issues such as sexuality, class, and race. Motley's freewheeling nightlife scenes, which he began in the mid-1920s (see plates 65, 67), have been compared to those of George Grosz and described as the "American version of Weimar Germany *Verisme*," but the specifics and ideological resonance of that implied, potential influence have not been examined in depth.[52] On the

whole, the appeal of contemporary German (versus French) trends for American artists has been neglected, a point underscored in 1928 by the *New York Times* critic Edward Alden Jewell, who, writing from Düsseldorf, urged his compatriots to exhibit more of it.[53]

Motley had reasons to be receptive to contemporary German art; he had married the daughter of German immigrants, Edith Granzo (whose parents disowned her), and his most important teacher at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, as he acknowledged, was the German-born Karl Buehr. Yet, while in Paris on a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1929–30, he did not visit nearby Munich, not even when one of his paintings was included in an exhibition of American artists there.[54] (He was the only African American artist with work in that show, which, notably, also included a piece by the émigré Reiss.) Instead, the potential conduits, beginning in the early 1920s, were those of circulating periodicals and monographs, the numerous print portfolios of Grosz and Dix depicting fraught postwar urban life, exhibitions of modern German art in the United States, and editions of the Carnegie International, which also featured portraits by other European artists in a Magic Realist style.[55]

Grosz and Dix, in turn, were inspired by American mass culture, especially jazz. Dix's 1922 visual manifesto *To Beauty* (fig. 52) revels in the comic grotesque, including the bulging-eyed Black musician playing a drum decorated with the head and regalia of a Native American. That Motley's own ribald interpretations of nocturnal stomps and syncopations engaged in stereotypes of Black countenance and behavior that the New Negro movement sought to counter has troubled certain viewers and art historians, but the ways in which Dix, Grosz, and Gert Wollheim so mercilessly demeaned white Germans of all stripes, including themselves, may well have provided Motley with a mode of entry to the taboo realm of racial self-mockery in his rollicking depictions of Chicago's Black Belt (see plates 25, 99, 101).[56] The German verists elevated caricature—physiognomic exaggerations, wide-toothed grimaces and wayward gazes, not to mention the boozy displays of bosoms and bottoms—from the realm of newspaper illustration to fine art. Moreover, licentious cabaret and nightclub milieus became synonymous with avant-garde artistic transgressions in the European

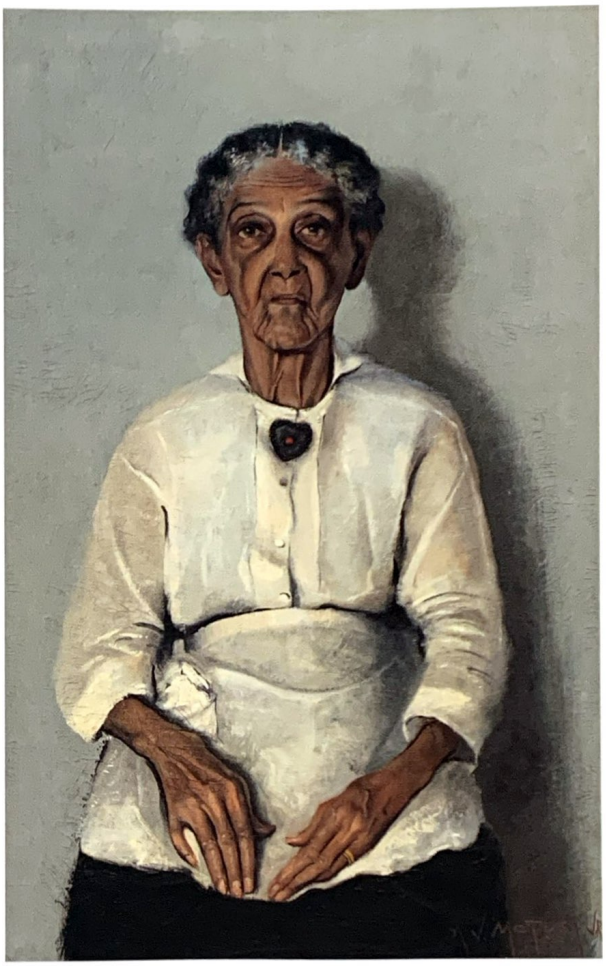


Fig. 53. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Portrait of My Grandmother*, 1922

capitals and Mexico City in the 1920s.[57] The insistence with which Motley developed his series of lively "jook joints" suggests that he took to heart Langston Hughes's widely publicized opinion that Black artists should have the freedom to paint whatever they wish, as long as it was authentically felt, including holy rollers and easy women, instead of being pressured to emulate the perceived refinement of "white folks." These paintings allowed Motley, a Black artist, to own the same racial material being exploited to commercial success by the Mexican caricaturist Miguel Covarrubias (whom Motley befriended) in the pages of *Vanity Fair* or by Reginald Marsh in his pictures of dancers letting loose in interracial, urban spaces.[58]

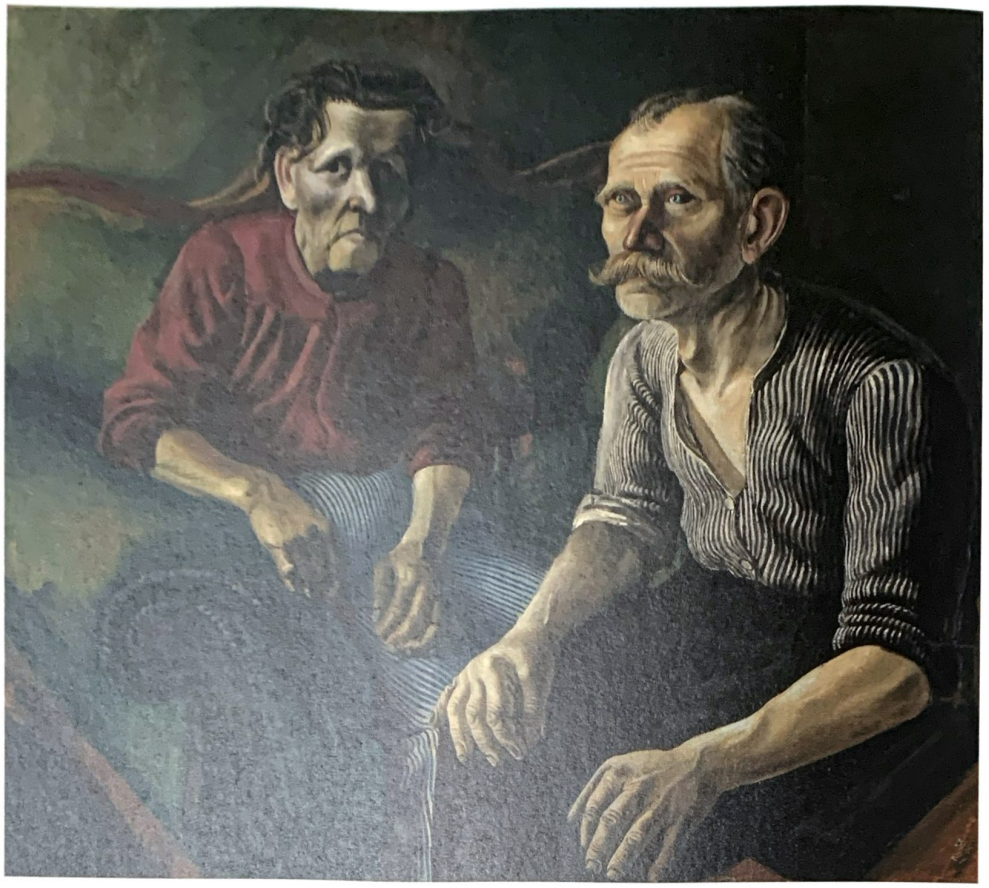


Fig. 54. Otto Dix, *Portrait of the Artist's Parents I*, 1921

Whether it is a matter of affinity and coincidence, rather than direct inspiration, certain of Motley's portraits and their idiosyncrasies—the tight facture, subtle psychological tensions, and the oddly animate objects, pregnant with symbolism—recall portrayals by Dix, Christian Schad, Antonio Donghi, and other European artists that similarly play with a preternatural mimesis and stasis to unsettle the viewer. Compare, for example, the unflinching depiction of old age in *Portrait of My Grandmother*, including the expressive prominence of the veined and knuckled hands, with Dix's unsentimental depictions of his wizened parents (figs. 53, 54).

Senescence was a rare subject for the youth- and beauty-obsessed America of the roaring 1920s; nor does Motley attempt to offset the decrepitude of flesh with the painterly bravura and luminosity typical of George Bellows, with whom he took a portraiture class at the Art Institute in 1919. And while the overall tonal palette of gray and tan evokes that of James McNeill Whistler's famous image of his funereally clad elderly mother (*Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 1*, 1871), Motley pointedly reversed the dress code to highlight racial difference, painting starched white linen against his grandmother's dark complexion. After being transfixed by the sitter's deeply lined face and impassive gaze, one notices the presence of her cast shadow: the shadow of race and class forever attached to this formerly enslaved woman. Such details in Motley's portraits stealthily disrupt the otherwise placid surfaces, such as the knife clenched in the right hand of the subject of *Mammy (Nancy)* (1924), whose somber demeanor offers a retort to white expectations of a happy-to-serve, grinning Aunt Jemima.

Mirrors, like shadows, involve doubling—and double-takes on the part of the viewer—as occurs in the unnamed portrait *Brown Girl After the Bath* (plate 103), where one perceives the spatial incongruity between the sitter and her reflection and the resulting ambiguous direction of her gaze. Du Bois was supportive of Motley's work, and the artist would have been aware of his concept of the Negro's "double consciousness," or a sense of self that has been relentlessly subjected to the evaluation of the white "other."[59] At the same time, the overt carnality of this nude implicates the viewer in his or her own voyeuristic appraisal, both sexual and racial: that she is a *brown* girl, neither categorically

Fig. 55. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Self-Portrait (Myself at Work)*, 1933

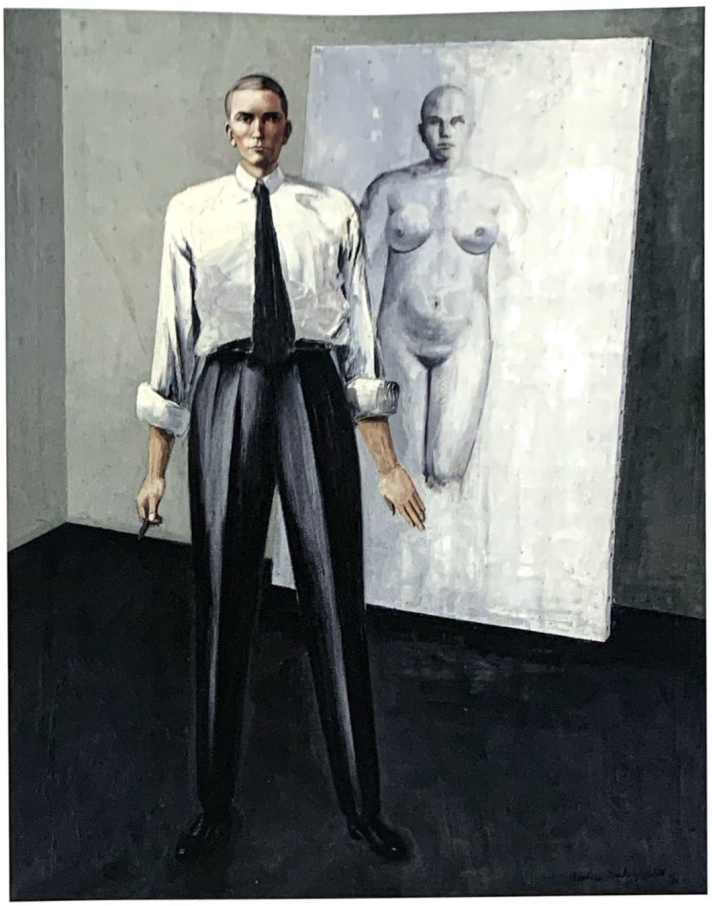


Fig. 56. Anton Räderscheidt, *Self-Portrait*, 1928

Black nor white, lays bare the hypocrisy of legal and social prohibitions against "miscegenation," given the long and brutal history of chattel slavery and forced sex as well as decades of consensual interracial relationships. Motley's claim to "honesty" thus contains a knowing irony, given that his series of female portraits titled according to creole classifications (*Mulatress*, *Quadroon*, and *Octoroon*) underscores how regularly appearances deceived.[60]

Motley himself was from a multiracial, middle-class background, and he grew up in a mainly white Chicago neighborhood and attended white schools; his family was nonetheless vulnerable during that city's life-threatening race riots of 1919. *Portrait of the Artist's Father* (plate 32) depicts the accoutrements of refinement and respectability (Archibald Motley, Sr., worked as a Pullman porter) even as the gawking Chinese figurine serves as a foil to the gentleman's upright bearing, and the painting of racehorses poignantly (or humorously) alludes to societal preoccupations with "pure blood" and good breeding. As the German critic Franz Roh wrote in 1925 of Magic Realism's controlled ambiguity, meaning or mystery "hides itself behind the represented world."[61]

Unlike Reiss, Motley's identity as a Black artist and the proximity with which he placed white viewers face-to-face with assertive New Negro subjects—who looked and dressed very much like themselves, to the point of "passing"—had, arguably, a canny ability to unsettle, as evident in *Self-Portrait (Myself at Work)* (fig. 55). Motley's composition bears an astonishing similarity to contemporary German self-portraits by Dix (*Self-Portrait with Nude Model*, 1923) and Anton Räderscheidt (fig. 56), which pose a nude female (either real or in the process of being painted) uncomfortably and daringly close to the artist. (The blasé affect, unidealized body type, and aggressively frontal pose of Motley's *Nude (Portrait of My Wife)* (fig. 57) also mimics the unshrinking depictions of the female body common to Dix's images and the Neue Sachlichkeit canon.) Like Räderscheidt, Motley tantalizingly leaves the female figure unfinished, as if she were coming into being, even walking off the canvas. Equally brazen is the artist's unemotive gaze and confrontational pose, as he, a Black Pygmalion, brings a light-skinned woman to life, her pink flesh enhanced by the garish hue of the window paint, all (blasphemously) under the eyes of a crucifix and

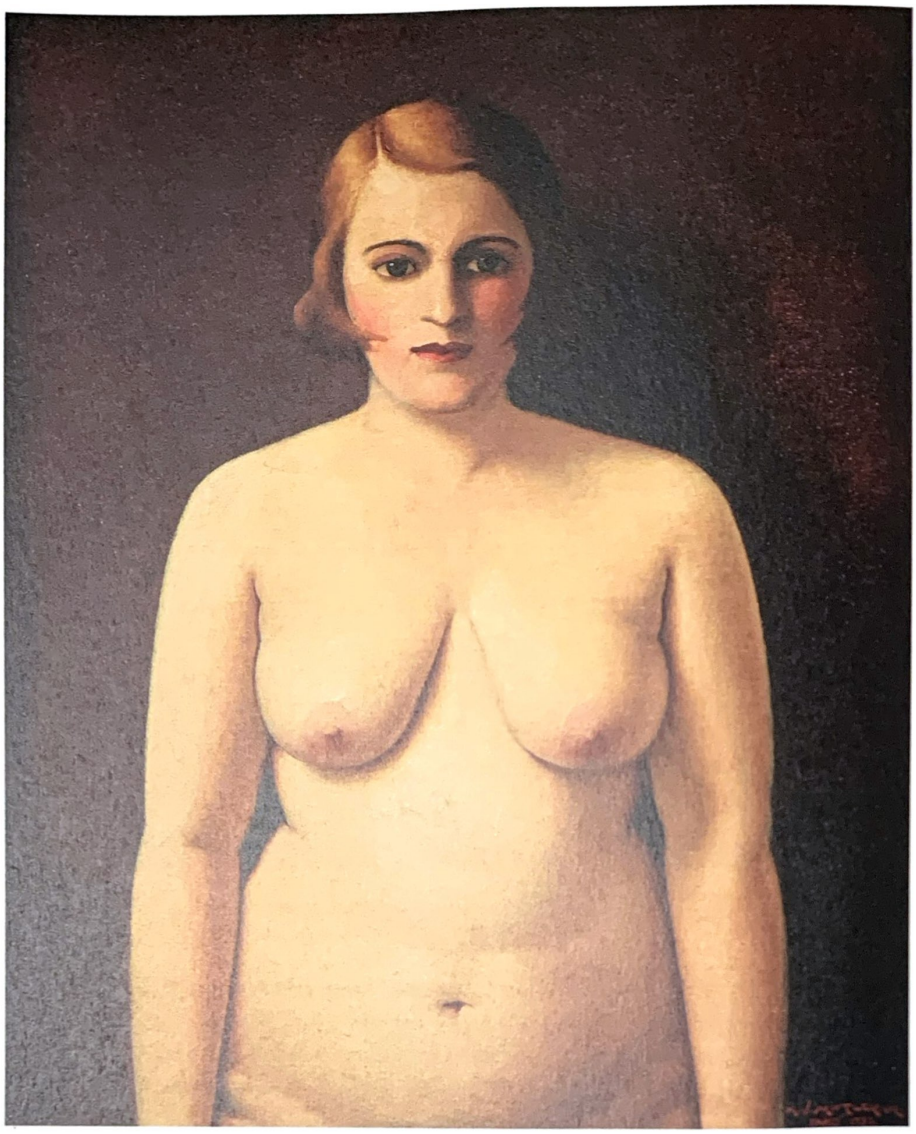


Fig. 57. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Nude (Portrait of My Wife)*, 1930

the plaster effigy of an aged, toothless white man. The difference between his taut style and the soft naturalism of Edwin Harleston's nearly contemporary homage to Aaron Douglas (plate 3) is palpable. With his beret and phallic array of paintbrushes, Motley's image, and the way he confounds our perceptions, is like no other American self-portrait of the time.

The originality of Motley's New Negro portraiture and its embedded social critique were lost on contemporary viewers, and his portraits did not find as many committed buyers as he had hoped, including among African Americans.[62] For his New Gallery exhibition of 1928, in fact, the dealer George Hellman had played to white audiences' fascination with uptown life by steering Motley toward the production of cabaret and "voodoo" subjects, ones that would ride on the popular success of Carl Van Vechten's sensationalist writing on a libidinous Harlem and David Belasco's Broadway musical *Lulu Belle*.[63] In 1932, Hellman's gallery stock was sold at auction in New York, including several of the Motley portraits exhibited just a few years earlier.[64] The harsh market reality was that portraits of any race, be they of family members or types, were a harder sell for private collectors.

In 1952, Aaron Douglas came into renewed contact with his old teacher, with the resulting gift by Reiss of many of his portraits to Fisk University, Nashville. At the dedication of the collection, Douglas stated: "You can very well imagine my joy at the prospect of possessing here . . . the paintings

Fig. 58. Winold Reiss, *Harlem Girl with Blanket*, ca. 1925

which had so powerfully moved the American Negro toward creative expression in the graphic and plastic arts," ones that "can speak for the lowly and the humble as well as the powerful and the favored."[65] For Locke and others, Reiss had broken through racist representations and American cultural parochialism with a fresh "technical treatment and social angle" that "objectively" captured the Negro's "own patterns" of physiognomy and reinforced "the dignity of race pride."[66] Even so, the interracial collaboration behind *The New Negro* was erased over time; in 1992, the reissue of the volume removed Reiss's name from the title page and his portraits from the book.[67] Overall, his contribution to the image of the New Negro has received scant attention in larger studies on Black and American portraiture, perhaps because Reiss was white, his figurative style is perceived (mistakenly) as not modernist, or even because studies on the Harlem Renaissance have favored its literary production. One can nonetheless draw a direct line from some of Reiss's works, such as *Harlem Girl with Blanket* (fig. 58) or *Black Prophet* (see fig. 50), with their Afros and Egyptian-styled blunt cuts, stare downs, and bold sartorial touches, all set against a neutral background, to the "new" African American portraiture of Barkley Hendricks and Amy Sherald.

VANDERZEE
N.Y.C
1925

JAMES VAN DER ZEE AND THE GLOBAL MOBILITY OF PHOTOGRAPHS

EMILIE C. BOONE

AMONG the studio photographer James Van Der Zee's portraits, few would seem to align with our prevailing understanding of modernism as it relates to art history. If modernism formally connotes the move away from naturalism toward the abstraction of figure and ground, however, then Van Der Zee, in at least one instance, visually captured this transition.[1] In his 1925 portrait of Maurice Hunter, Van Der Zee depicted the sitter almost nude and in silhouette, registering Hunter's corporeal properties while also creating a graphic effect of line and shape (fig. 59). Dramatic lighting bathes the sculptural forms of Hunter's back, while darkness consumes his forward-facing body, rendering it flat and angular. The formal qualities of the portrait are akin to those of the painter Aaron Douglas's signature flattened figuration, a visual strategy often identified as epitomizing modernism. Like Hunter's depiction in the photograph, the expressive hands and angular limbs in Douglas's *Judgement Day*, for example (plate 51), are boldly set in contrast to the background. Van Der Zee's example (and Douglas's even more so) gestures toward the complicated relationship between Africa and modern art through the meagerly clothed Black body and the vivid backdrop, which in the photographer's larger corpus of work are anomalous in terms of content and color. As captivating as this one example of Van Der Zee's representational innovation may be, a more fundamental but perhaps unexpected link between his oeuvre and modernism comes into view if we consider, broadly speaking, the movement of his images. If, in the words of scholar François Brunet, "modern art, especially, must rank circulation among its most significant phenomena," then how might foregrounding this aspect of Van Der Zee's work recast his contributions to modernism as more significant than previously understood?[2]

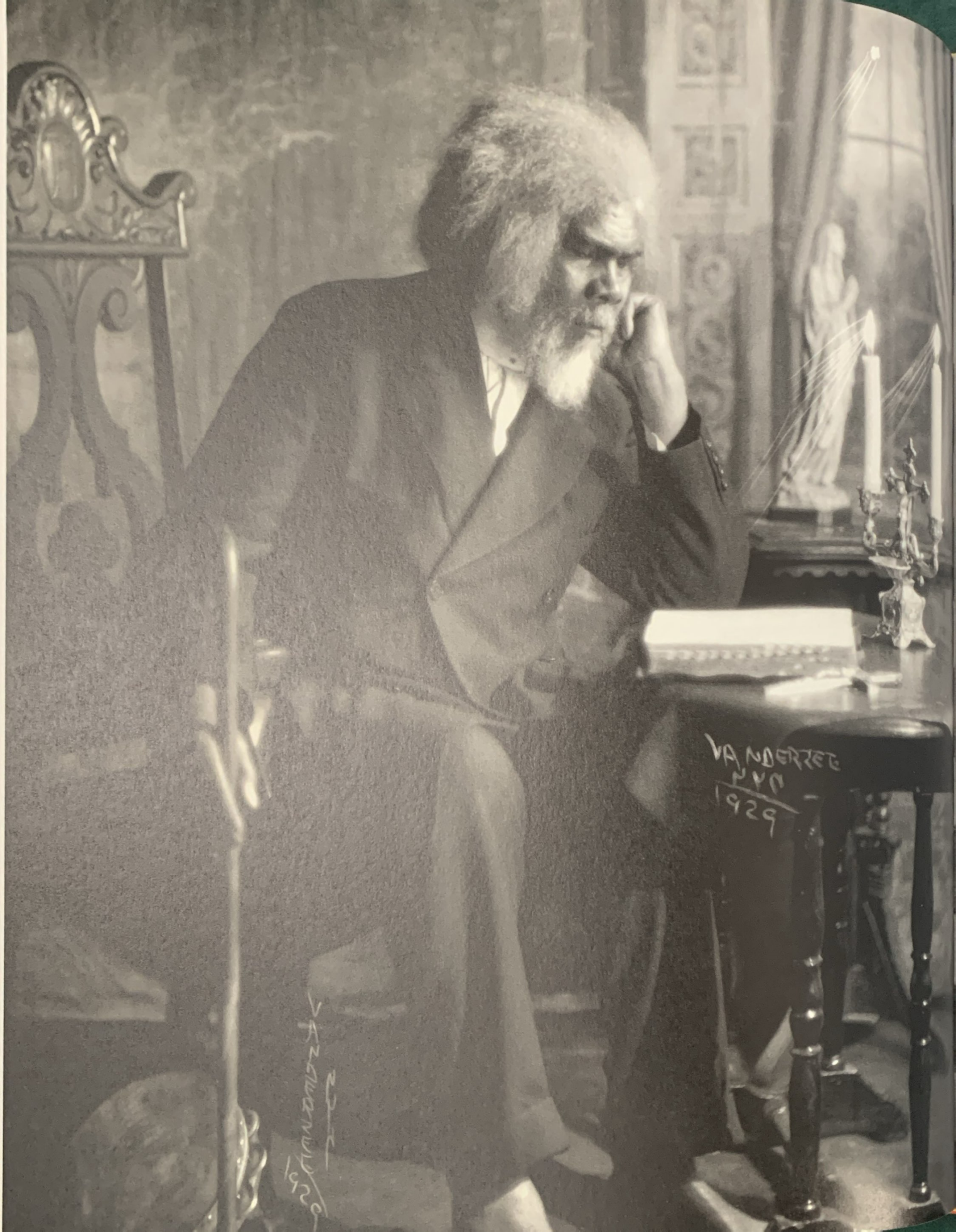
Although themes of experimentation and abstraction have enabled photography, at times, to fit seamlessly within that modernist agenda, characteristics intrinsic to the medium afford photographic images something beyond the modernist parameters of style and visual representation: they are reproducible and portable, allowing for a range of different kinds of circulation. In this way, photographs helped reinvent the way Black bodies move, since those bodies were no longer inhibited by, or circumscribed to, the specifics of place. Disseminated to the various corners of the world where Black people lived, visited, and took up space, no matter how grand or trivial, photographs, as physical objects, were a way to reorient an intentional and dignified presence. If we turn our focus away from the more common discussions of when and where Van Der Zee's photographs were made and examine instead the circumstances and occasions of their mobility—from mortuary photographs sent down South and family portraits in France and Curaçao to images that were dispersed across the African diaspora through the *Negro World* newspaper—we gain insight into how one of America's most celebrated photographers contributes to an expanded version of modernism that, like Van Der Zee's images themselves, traversed the globe.

VAN DER ZEE AND MODERNISM

Van Der Zee moved to Manhattan in 1906, at about the age of twenty, and, beginning with his first studio, which he established in 1916, found work as a photographer primarily to a clientele of Harlem residents and visitors.[3] He grew up among a tight-knit family in Lenox, Massachusetts, known as a popular summer resort town for Northerners of means. His relocation to Harlem offered him the opportunity to earn a living alongside family members from Lenox while he pursued his aspirations as a piano and violin player. Harlem was where he eventually met Gaynella Greenlee, his second wife, who became the proprietor of his business, and Harlem was home to his four consecutively run studio locations, the hubs through which he was able to cultivate an eager customer base as a prolific and highly sought-after portrait photographer.

Van Der Zee's reputation today rests on his depiction of the Harlem Renaissance through a broad array of images, including street scenes, domestic interiors, and mortuary

Fig. 59. James Van Der Zee, *Maurice Hunter*, 1925


VA. NORRIS
NYC
1929

photographs, but particularly on his highly composed, expertly lit portraits of Black sitters, which constitute the bulk of his oeuvre. These full-length photographs of subjects carefully posed with formal furniture, rugs, and exquisite backdrops, among his best-known images, were the output of a highly successful studio practice and illustrate not only his skill in photographic portraiture but also his innovative darkroom and hand-coloring techniques. Working directly on the negative, for instance, Van Der Zee, in *The Barefoot Prophet*, etched in lines that create the effect of light emanating from two candles on the side table that supports the sitter's contemplative pose (fig. 60). In other examples, he touched up droopy eyes, lengthened eyelashes, whitened teeth, complemented an outfit with rings or bracelets, or animated a scene by adding smoke puffs wafting from a staged, dangling cigarette.[4]

Van Der Zee's clients came from a diverse and expansive cross section of Harlem habitués, from Black Jews of the Beth B'nai Abraham Synagogue, families of Garveyites, and local Elk members to musical performers, uniformed women, politicians, entrepreneurs, and members of Harlem's elite, including the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., the performer Florence Mills, and the famed businesswoman Madam C. J. Walker. All of them patronized his studio, which was on one of the neighborhood's busiest avenues. Van Der Zee did not, however, tailor his practice exclusively to the eminent. As scholar Kobena Mercer has discussed, "unlike fine arts practitioners burdened with expectations to be 'representative' of the race, James Van Der Zee gave us a vibrant archival cross section of Black Harlem because, as an entrepreneur, he answered not to the anxieties of the Talented Tenth but to the wishes of paying customers."[5] Moreover, mostly unencumbered by the dominating expectations of white patrons or large institutions, and working outside the common script for African American artists as articulated by Alain Locke, the leading voice of the Harlem Renaissance, Van Der Zee evolved as a photographer largely detached from modernist or avant-garde agendas during the early twentieth century.[6] While some Black artists "interrogated, invaded, annihilated, or immersed themselves in the ethos of European modernist art," Van Der Zee was occupied with other matters.[7] During his day, the pantheon of prominent individuals who set the tone for the art of the Harlem Renaissance and, by extension, Black modernism within the visual realm had a vision for photography that did not, at least overtly, include either Van Der Zee or his portrait style. As a leading luminary of the New Negro era, Locke, for one, implored Black visual artists to engage folk traditions by way of European modernism's use of African art, thereby enabling those of African descent to tap into a "usable past."[8] In turn, African American artists were urged, among other prescriptions, to depict Black subjects with a modernist aesthetic. As art historian Camara Holloway has written about James Latimer Allen, another Harlem studio photographer working in this era, what constituted modern photography within the context of Black portraiture included "present[ing] the subject in a shallow space against a neutral background. This portrait mode eschewed the use of props to convey information about the sitter, relying instead on the belief that the body was legible and could reveal the character of the subject."[9] In 1927, the well-connected writer Carl Van Vechten praised Allen, writing, "he has evolved a system of lighting and a system of printing without retouching which makes his work the peer of that of the best workers in this field" (fig. 61).[10] For Van Vechten, a photographer's strength lay in the fact that his skill with the medium did not require the added assistance of the hand. Talent, to Van Vechten's eye, correlated with technological sophistication of lighting and printing instead of photographs—like many of Van Der Zee's—that had the additional feature of being routinely touched up or enlivened by the inclusion of props and backdrops. While Van Vechten had the ear of Locke and other prominent figures during the Harlem Renaissance era, it is unclear how much regard, if any, such individuals had for Van Der Zee.

The storied cultural engines of the day likewise missed out on formally acknowledging Van Der Zee's talent through either exhibitions or awards, even though a small but burgeoning platform existed during the Harlem Renaissance era for African American photographers to gain recognition

60. Detail of James Van Der Zee, *The Barefoot Prophet*, 1929 (plate 34)

Fig. 61. James Latimer Allen, *Portrait of Rose McClendon (Study in Black and White)*, 1930

Fig. 62. James Van Der Zee, *Woman*, 1934

through exhibition and sponsorship.[11] In 1921, for example, the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, now part of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, included two photographers—Cornelius Marion Battey of the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, and Lucy Calloway, who was based in New York—in *The Negro Arts Exhibit*, the library's first exhibition of works by Black artists. Later, in 1930, the Harmon Foundation, one of the leading institutional patrons for African American artists, created the Commission Prize for Photographic Work, awarded to Allen.[12] Van Der Zee's name is not among those mentioned in the institutional efforts to elevate photographers to the ranks of the other celebrated artists whose creative work came to define the Harlem Renaissance.

During this period, Van Der Zee's recognition derived instead from the steadfast patronage of his customers, to whom he was beholden, and the most convincing evidence of his extraordinary success in that regard is his robust oeuvre. Indeed, his expansive archive housed at The Met demonstrates the extent of his significance and popularity in Harlem—as noted above, his approach appealed to many Harlem residents and visitors—but also, and perhaps most important, his creative engagement with a wide variety of photographic techniques.[13] A previously unpublished, intimate portrait of a Black woman (fig. 62), for instance, offers viewers an opportunity to appreciate Van Der Zee's virtuosic hand coloring, here applied meticulously throughout the print. Van Der Zee's brush enhanced the contours of the subject's cheek and the intensity of her eyes in ways akin to the touch of a makeup artist. The illumination of the studio lamps highlights her carefully coiffed hair and the reflections on her jade bracelet, which, with its Asian associations, hints at the global circulation of goods, people, and even works of art.

The small holes at each corner of the photograph shift our focus from the picture's representational attributes to its qualities as an object, suggesting that Van Der Zee used this print as a work sample, or a piece presented for customers to admire upon their entry into the studio. As made evident through his archive, Van Der Zee was known to create multiple prints of the same photograph, and this work is likely a duplicate of one sold to the woman who is the subject of the portrait. It can thus be understood as just one of a larger set

of prints whose other copies are possibly kept in a Harlem family album or within a frame adorning a nearby home or, perhaps, may even have been slipped into envelopes, letters, or suitcases and taken on journeys far from New York. The potential circulation suggested through the materiality of this print tells a story of shifting viewership as seen through the copies of it that were likely destined for other locales and modes of display.

The diversity of people in Harlem is paramount to understanding the New Negro era and Black modernism. The Great Migration in the United States—which saw significant numbers of African Americans move from the South to the North in the wake of a shifting cultural and employment landscape—altered the composition of Harlem in terms of both its residents and its visitors. Enhancing this mélange was the presence of people from the Caribbean, Africa, Southeast Asia, and beyond, giving Harlem an international reputation as a global footprint of difference.[14] "Here . . . came the celebrities from across the nation," recalled the civil rights leader Anna Hedgeman, a Black woman in the YWCA's leadership ranks who arrived in New York around 1927, "because Harlem at that time was [a] mecca. There was no place else to go in the same way for the opportunity to meet people, Negroes from everywhere. . . . It was really the center."[15] As people descended upon Harlem and created a community of internationalism, culture, and creativity, so, too, did this Harlemesque energy travel beyond the city limits, imbuing other locations, nationally and internationally, with vibrant Black living.[16] Harlem as a sweeping phenomenon rather than a distinct locale is borne out, for example, in artist Allan Rohan Crite's depictions of Boston's New Negro population through neighborhood street scenes of Black crowds and individual portraits of artistic devotion such as *Bass Violin Player* (fig. 63). Smaller in population and less reflective of the migration north than Harlem, but just as noteworthy, Boston likewise served as a generative place for artistic innovation. Crite's recollections about how his mother could hear the melodic singing of the renowned lyric tenor Roland Hayes outside her window speaks to the presence of flourishing Black creative lives made evident in the most quotidian of ways.[17] "Harlems," here meaning florescences of Black creative expression, were indeed everywhere.[18]

Fig. 63. Allan Rohan Crite, *Bass Violin Player*, 1941

TRANSATLANTIC MOVEMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGES

Locke wrote of Blackness as being "widely diffused throughout the whole country" and as "floating in the mainstream of American life" as opposed to something contained in certain neighborhoods or set customs. Culture, as he saw it, is "tinctured Negroid," part of a diffusion—a trace or smattering of Blackness everywhere—that depended upon not only the movement and growth of Black populations and communities but also the circulation of images.[19] Van Der Zee's photographs, and their physical dispersal, help revise our understanding of how Blackness became a generative and

constitutive part of what it means to be modern. They also demonstrate how the global circulation of images helped drive the evolution of modernism as it spread around the world. That distribution remains key to understanding the breadth of modernism's transatlantic manifestations.

Anecdotal and tangible evidence of Van Der Zee's prints in places far removed, both physically and contextually, from their origins in his Harlem studio amplify the significance of their mobility. Van Der Zee sent photographs of New York funerals, for example, to mourning family members living elsewhere. In describing one mortuary photograph, Van Der Zee explains, "the boy used to work for the N.B.C. broadcasting company. His name was Paul. . . . I made pictures and sent them to his relatives in California."[20] As part of a commission to document Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), Van Der Zee's photographs of the organization's 1924 Harlem Convention appeared within full-page spreads in Garvey's newspaper, *Negro World*, and reached an international audience of UNIA members and allies (fig. 64). In another example, a Black man arriving from Curaçao by port made his way to Harlem and subsequently left Van Der Zee's studio with a photograph (see fig. 83).

Fig. 64. James Van Der Zee, *UNIA Convention Parade*, 1924, reproduced in *Negro World* (August 9, 1924)

Fig. 65. Unknown artist (copy photograph by James Van Der Zee), *Portrait of a Family*, ca. 1940

Fig. 66. James Van Der Zee, *Prince Kojo Tovalou Houénou*, 1924

Years later, the subject's Dutch Caribbean grandson was able to connect the photograph to Van Der Zee by the studio stamp found on the verso. Van Der Zee most likely copied and restored an original photograph that the man brought to him, a service he promoted internationally through newspaper ads and that supplemented his practice as a studio portraitist. These kinds of copied, enlarged, or enhanced photographs expand his archive of images to include styles and sitters of diverse backgrounds—such as an Asian family posed in front of a modernist backdrop (fig. 65)—that disrupt many of the defining characteristics routinely associated with his work.[21]

The multiplicity of Van Der Zee's photographs facilitated the possibility of audiences near and far. Prince Kojo Tovalou Houénou, a nephew of the former ruler of Dahomey, King Béhanzin, spent time in Harlem in 1924 as a speaker at the UNIA international convention.[22] Before returning home, the prince, a vocal critic of the French colonial empire and a prominent activist known across the Atlantic, visited Van Der Zee's studio and, according to the photographer, ordered more than one thousand portrait multiples, copies of which are currently in the possession of Houénou's descendants in France (fig. 66).[23] Houénou was profiled by prominent Harlem Renaissance author Claude McKay, who insightfully revealed the power of photographs by using a portrait of the elder Béhanzin as an example. After visiting the young Houénou's apartment in Paris, McKay described seeing a simple home furnished with select works of African art, a yellow quilt draped over a couch, and a study filled with classic and modern books in the various languages in which Houénou was fluent. Of particular note were two photographs displayed on the mantelpiece: one of a beautiful white woman, whom McKay infers was a romantic interest of the prince, and the other, arranged opposite, of his uncle, King Béhanzin. According to McKay, Béhanzin appeared "in striped flowing robes with a long ivory pipe in his mouth," the latter a signature item that he was rarely photographed without.[24] A postcard in The Met collection confirms the former king's iconic look; he sits on a chair, wrapped in a patterned robe and wearing a hat (fig. 67). The pipe—perhaps the local reed-and-stem pipe for which he was known—rests on his lower lip and delicately lifted fingers.

Photographs like those Van Der Zee produced for Houénou as well as examples by others who photographed the former king speak to the importance of reproduction

and highlight the possibilities of movement and of being seen in places where they were neither framed nor revered by Harlem-based intellectual circles committed to a specific pedagogical agenda of what it meant to be modern within the era of the New Negro. These photographs signify softly within familial contexts, reimagining how Blackness operated in ways less prescriptive, and sometimes in contrast to, an era often defined by Locke's proclamations of what Black image makers ought to do: there is no mandated or proposed way to engage photographs here.[25] As such, these examples of global circulation can relay the most insight into everyday life because they are encountered on the margins of formalized outlets of meaning. Addendums and whispers—or even cherished objects viewed before falling asleep or glanced at upon a wall—they signify, in ways as simple as being placed on mantelpieces or traveling across oceans, the traces or infusion of Blackness everywhere that Locke asked us to imagine. They are ever-present images—dismissed for their banality as much as they were looked at, discarded as often as they were regarded with curiosity—and in turn they are an underacknowledged engine of modernism's transatlantic reach.

Fig. 67. ***Béhanzin, Former King of Dahomey (r. 1889–94)***, 1906

AN ENCOUNTER ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

Writing about photographs of everyday life, art historian Shawn Michelle Smith asks a central question: "What is circulating *around* these images? What other images give them meaning?"[26] In one powerful but troubling example, the juxtaposition of Van Der Zee's work among other photographs, along with the tone of an accompanying text, presents not just a more expansive view of the sometimes unforeseen ways in which images circulate, but also an almost literal response to Smith's interrogation.

In 1938 the British photographer Cecil Beaton published *Cecil Beaton's New York*, an illustrated volume that conveyed his impressions of the city that had become something of a second home to him since he began visiting there frequently in 1928. By the time the book was released, Beaton was already a well-known fashion and portrait photographer, illustrator, caricaturist, and set and costume designer.[27] Although based in London, he became invested, as scholar Donald Albrecht writes, in "building artistic bridges between two world capitals," especially as New York offered him more professional opportunities.[28] Volumes of his personal scrapbooks had been exhibited in New York in 1937, and *Life* magazine had featured a lavish party he had hosted in Ashcombe, his country house outside London, exposing Beaton to a wider American readership.

Cecil Beaton's New York includes a two-page textual description of Van Der Zee, who is unnamed but identifiable through an accompanying portrait, along with four pages of examples of his wedding and funerary photographs. Macabre accounts of autopsy photographs, images documenting

Fig. 68. James Van Der Zee, uncredited photographs printed in *Cecil Beaton's New York* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1938)

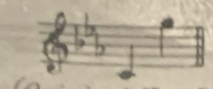
accidents, and formal mortuary portraits dominate the few pages of text, which align with Beaton's sensationalized interpretation of Harlem. Beaton's encounter with Van Der Zee appears in the chapter "Unconducted Tours," which focuses on Harlem's red-light districts, shopping areas catering to the spirit of Mardi Gras, and Black drag culture. In describing the Apollo Theater, Beaton wrote that "Stuffed lions and tigers in the lobby burlesque the jungle from which these people sprang, a race which only three generations before was still savage."[29] His language about Harlem is consistently crude and racially offensive, while his ghastly description of Van Der Zee's practice is at odds with any of the photographer's known history.

Despite its racist framing, Beaton's text offers an occasion to position Van Der Zee's photographs as illustrative of Black modernity, especially when considering the role of "unintended readers," or those described by scholar Laura Wexler as "ungovernable by the socioemotional codes being set forth within the community-making forces that literature set in motion."[30] Van Der Zee's anonymous appearance in *Cecil Beaton's New York* required, or indeed still requires, this kind of astute engagement. Rather than mere illustrations, Van Der Zee's dignified portraits provide a quiet counternarrative to Beaton's text, which includes works by a number of other photographers in a context that highlights Harlem's residents in unflattering or sterotypical ways. In one of these photographs, a man has his shoes shined next to garbage cans and in front of a vacant barbershop with a leasing information sign. Two smaller images evoke a narrative sequence often found on minstrel-themed stereoscope cards, in which three youths attempt to procure coins that have fallen through a sidewalk grid. The image is captioned "Street fishing, gum the bait, pennies the catch." The photograph that concludes the section, of a young Black boy, is labeled "piccaninny" by Beaton. While the boy is centrally framed, the imposing urban background seems to serve more as a focal point than a mere inconsequential locale. Similarly, Van Der Zee himself appears to readers, unnamed, in a portrait that pays equal attention, if not more, to atmospheric details than to the work's ostensible subject. Captioned "Harlem photographer," the image features a weathered billboard of the 1938 boxing film *Spirit of Youth*, whose heavyweight champion dominates the composition as well as the portrait of the artist.

These images provide a stark contrast to Van Der Zee's featured studio photographs, which reflect his signature style

GOIN' HOME

From the Largo of the Symphony
"From the New World," Op. 95



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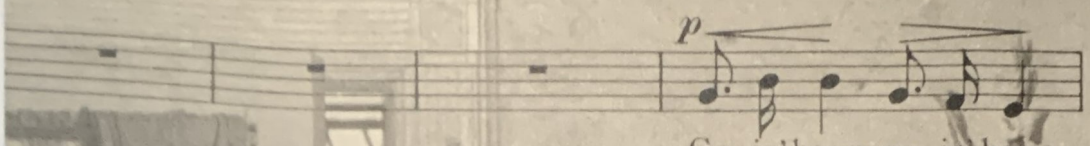
ANTON DVOŘÁK



in portraying matrimony and death. The wedding portraits, typical of his practice, are carefully composed representations of Black men and women who are formally dressed and look proudly toward Van Der Zee's camera (fig. 68). Two of Van Der Zee's oval portraits—one superimposed with musical notes, and both presented in an oval frame of roses—complement the group images alongside Beaton's own festive illustrations. As readers turn the page, the book switches gears from the "Bridal Harlem Group" to "Death in Harlem," which features two pictures likewise typical of other funerary portraits by Van Der Zee (e.g., fig. 69). Both show Black women in coffins surrounded by flowers, and each was enhanced by Van Der Zee's superimposed images of angelic figures, poems, and, in the bottom example, an earlier portrait of the deceased. Van Der Zee's photographs are visual accounts of tender care and kindness, both in their subject matter and through the act of making them.

If to be modern indeed demanded shifting the representational possibilities of Black life, then Van Der Zee's works, especially in juxtaposition with Beaton's photographs, do just that, offering American and British readers the possibility to reinvent the way images of Black subjects were seen and discussed within the purview of a photographer building bridges across the Atlantic. Although Beaton contextualized Van Der Zee's photographs in a certain way, Black life could nevertheless be reimagined through the virtuous visual modes that Van Der Zee illustrated for any discerning viewer. Ensconced within Beaton's racist framing, Van Der Zee's photographs offered the possibility of engaging with and thereby imagining otherwise. Although encountering Van Der Zee through *Cecil Beaton's New York* can be a jarring affair, it illustrates how Van Der Zee's images of Harlem were bridges—cultural and geographical crossings—that for many early twentieth-century viewers constituted an intrinsically modern experience.

But what, exactly, makes this moment, and the occasion of Van Der Zee's photographs traveling as they did, so illustrative of modernism? After all, objects had been traveling and circulating for millennia before the Harlem Renaissance, through routes and venues that undergird our understanding of material culture and the nature of art. Perhaps it is not only that they traveled, but also the specific types of images that traveled and the multiplicity of ways in which they did. More important, however, and arguably what is so modern about these photographs, is the fact that Black people commissioned them and paid for how they would be represented and who would represent them.[31] To view Van Der Zee's uncredited photographs as a reader of *Cecil Beaton's New York*, even in their dissonant pairing with less reverential photographs and demeaning text, became an opportunity to think differently. As art historian Jennifer L. Roberts maintains, thinking transnationally and transculturally presumes that objects are not most significant when they are positioned within their local context but, rather, when they are moving.[32] In this case, a look at how Van Der Zee's photographs moved—and how those occasions existed in anecdotal traces or reproductions within internationally disseminated books—illuminates how recognizing the inherently modern characteristics of one Black photographer's work can shift understandings of the Harlem Renaissance.

Detail of James Van Der Zee, ***Funeral Portrait Home" Sheet Music*, 1932 (plate 20)**

QUEER HARLEM: GAY SOCIABILITY AND TRANSATLANTIC MODERNISM

JAMES SMALLS

AS A movement, the Harlem Renaissance provided a crucial cultural and historical space in which the intersections of queer sexuality, race, gender, class, and geography became integral to modernist experience and artistic expression across North America, Europe, and Africa.[1] More specifically, as a Black and queer space of creative production, the Harlem Renaissance—which, to quote the well-known observation by the African American literary scholar Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "was surely as gay as it was black, not that it was exclusively either of these"[2]—helped foster transnational and interracial manifestations of same-sex attraction and desire. This potent atmosphere supported a complex and dynamic "queer camaraderie," or gay sociability, that was significant to the growth and influence of the movement within and across the Black Atlantic and in transnational dialogue with white modernism.[3]

NEW NEGROES AND GAY SOCIABILITY

The key to understanding the importance of queer Harlem in the context of transnational modernism is the foundational thinking and writings of Alain Locke, the self-designated "midwife" to the Harlem Renaissance whose New Negro philosophy—a concept that had appeared in the late nineteenth century and was updated and popularized by Locke—served as the bedrock for much of the movement in the United States and abroad. Locke used the term "New Negro" as the title of his 1925 anthology, which grew out of a 1925 special issue on Harlem in the journal *Survey Graphic* (fig. 3). Contrasting the "Old Negro" with the "New Negro," Locke saw a progression of achievement that proceeded from African American self-confidence during the years following the Great Migration and World War I and that was accompanied by a push for racial pride through cultural pursuits such as fiction, music, poetry, and the visual and performing arts.[4] Within the realms of art and culture, Locke encouraged young African American artists to tap into their ancestral link to Africa as a catalyst while also keeping one foot in the modern world. His New Negro philosophy argued that African Americans should apply what they had learned from this historical perspective to art and other cultural pursuits in order to dispel the negative racial stereotypes of modernist primitivism promulgated by the white dominant culture.[5] Locke's imperative was based, in part, on his vast knowledge of the arts of West Africa, of which he had amassed an impressive collection. For Locke, as the art historian Kobena Mercer has written, African art was "the 'big bang' from which modernism's entire universe was born."[6]

Locke's New Negro philosophy helped legitimize, in both social and artistic settings, same-sex aesthetic and intellectual desires within an African American, African, and Eurocentric cultural matrix. It left the closet door ajar just enough for queer sensibilities and gay sociability to enter, take root, and thrive to the point where the convergence or intersectionality of Black and gay underpinned and helped mold the work of diverse artists of the period, including Richmond Barthé, Richard Bruce Nugent, Féral Benga, and Langston Hughes, among many others.[7] While Locke's homosexuality was an open secret, it played a vital role in his personal life and overall formation as a public intellectual. His status as a closeted gay man, moreover, allowed queer sociability to inform his New Negro thinking while also augmenting his personal relationships with artists and patrons in the visual, literary, and performing arts. As with so many of his like-minded contemporaries, Locke lived and worked in an environment that enforced queer invisibility and silence, but even in this context lesbians and gay men found ways to make homosexuality "speakable," according to Mercer, by infusing strategies of coded language and imagery as a way "to communicate identity and desire beneath the radar of the heteronormative gaze."[8]

Biographical details about Locke's homosexuality examined by the historian Jeffrey Stewart have revealed the extent to which the New Negro concept was shaped in large part by Locke's queer interests and gay sensibilities.[9] Locke's New

70. Detail of James Van Der Zee, *Person in Ensemble*, 1926 (plate 113)

Negro philosophy extended beyond the chronological and cultural confines often associated with the Harlem Renaissance to foster a cross- and intercultural legitimation of homoerotic desire in a much broader context. As an advocate of a Black diasporic modernism, Locke promoted the linkage of European modernism with African ancestralism to transform group identities. His perspective on art and culture considered the vitality and importance of the interracial and the intercultural in approaching the Black image by both Black diasporic and white European and Euro-American artists.

One such New Negro artist heavily influenced by Locke's focus on the intercultural and Black diasporic modernism was the African American poet and writer Langston Hughes. For his part, Hughes was perhaps the most engaged with African influences, modernism, and connections he saw in Latin America, acknowledging in his autobiography his "affinity for Latin Americans, and the Spanish language."[10] He was particularly fond of Cuba and, specifically, Afro-Cuban culture. Hughes first visited the island in 1927 on a brief trip, and by the time he returned in 1930 and 1931 he had already become respected by many Cuban writers. During those two separate visits in the early 1930s, Hughes was introduced to and made many friends with Cuban artists and intellectuals, one of whom was the accomplished Afro-Cuban sculptor Teodoro Ramos Blanco. During or just after Hughes's Cuban sojourn, Ramos Blanco produced his portrait of Langston Hughes (plate 116), a relief sculpture in plaster of the poet's visage rendered in profile, perhaps intended as an homage to their close friendship. Through the influence and connections of Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, a Puerto Rican–born bibliophile and "major figure in the emergence of Afro-diasporic history as a field of study,"[11] this work was one of eight sculptures shown in the Harmon Foundation exhibition of 1933 and is a testament to the transnational and transcultural links and exchanges among African American artists and those of the global Black diaspora during the formative years of early twentieth-century American modernism. Although there is no evidence to support the claim that either man was gay, the sensitivity and sensuality of forms with which the sculptor approached his sitter shows a close admiration of Hughes, if not an affectionate attraction.[12] Ramos Blanco rendered Hughes's countenance with full, sensuous lips and wavy hair, highlighting the handsome aspects of his face and suggesting both a dreamy disposition and a seductive personality.

In addition to Locke's influence in promoting an inter- and cross-cultural perspective to a Black diaspora, less often acknowledged is that his "investment in art was shaped by gay male aesthetics" primarily, but not exclusively, via the Black male nudes of diverse artists such as Charles Cullen, Richmond Barthé, Richard Bruce Nugent, and Carl Van Vechten. In their individual renditions of the Black male body, these modernists drew from the tradition of the Eurocentric male nude and invested it with coded homoerotic significance sometimes derived from Greek classical models, intended to be discerned by those in the know. Their works present food for thought as "intersectional acts of differencing across black and queer art practices," which ultimately allowed for multiple voices and a critical dynamism within transatlantic modernism during the interwar period.[13]

GENDER-BENDING IN HARLEM

By the 1920s, three distinct neighborhoods in New York City—Greenwich Village, Harlem, and Times Square—could boast sizeable-enough gay populations amid urban environments to give rise to queer social networks as a result of, among other things, shifts in demographics following World War I and the Great Migration.[14] Within these Jazz Age urban spaces of Black and gay intersection, which supported a mix of race and queer identities, it was the African American photographer James Van Der Zee who provided that community in Harlem with a voice and an opportunity for self-representation, allowing middle-class African Americans who wished to do so to commission photographic portraits of themselves as urbane, sophisticated, and modern. One such portrait appears to spotlight a cross-dressing individual one might have encountered at drag venues such as the Rockland Palace, the Hamilton Lodge, and other nightlife spots that dotted Harlem in the 1920s and 1930s (fig. 70).[15] Attendees at these extravaganzas came from all racial, class, and sexual backgrounds, but most of the balls' audiences and participants were Black. As is true of most of Van Der Zee's photographs, the image is stylized in terms of the painted backdrop and studio props, which serve to showcase the splendid outfit the sitter wears.

In the 1920s, the Hamilton Lodge—a Black fraternal organization headquartered at 280 West 155th Street and known officially as Lodge No. 710 of the Grand Order of Odd Fellows—was one of a handful of popular venues in Harlem that hosted spectacular drag balls attended by lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and other persons of marginalized, nonconforming sexualities. In these queer spaces, the fluidity of gender was on full display. By the early 1930s, the "Faggot's Ball," as these extravaganzas became known, were attracting a racially, nationally, and internationally diverse crowd that numbered into the thousands. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s they were documented in the Black press as well as in Broadway gossip sheets.[16] The popularity and importance of the Hamilton Lodge ball was recalled by Langston Hughes, who in his 1940 autobiography, *The Big Sea*, waxed nostalgic about what he described as "Spectacles in Color."[17] Hughes recalled that "it is the ball where men dress as women and women dress as men. During the height of the New Negro era and the tourist invasion of Harlem, it was fashionable for the intelligentsia and the social leaders of both Harlem and the downtown area to occupy boxes at this ball and look down from above at the queerly assorted throng on the dancing floor, males in flowing gowns and feathered headdresses and females in tuxedoes and box-back suits."[18]

One of the regular spectators at, and possibly occasional participant in, the Hamilton Lodge drag balls was the African American writer and artist Richard Bruce Nugent, a Black gay man who openly and unapologetically participated in Black queer culture during the Harlem Renaissance. Nugent's flamboyant behavioral and artistic indiscretions garnered him the title of the "perfumed orchid of the New Negro movement."[19] Although best known for his salacious writings and transgressive illustrations, Nugent was also a dancer. He appeared in a two-year production of the Dorothy and DuBose Heyward play *Porgy* in 1929,[20] and in the 1940s he was active in various dance companies, such as the New Negro Art Theater Dance Group (formed by the African American dancer Hemsley Winfield in 1925), in which he danced in drag. In much of his visual art, Nugent, as described by the scholar and archivist Thomas Wirth, "employed dance as a trope to express primitive vitality and freedom from sexual inhibition."[21] Nugent's approach to depicting the body

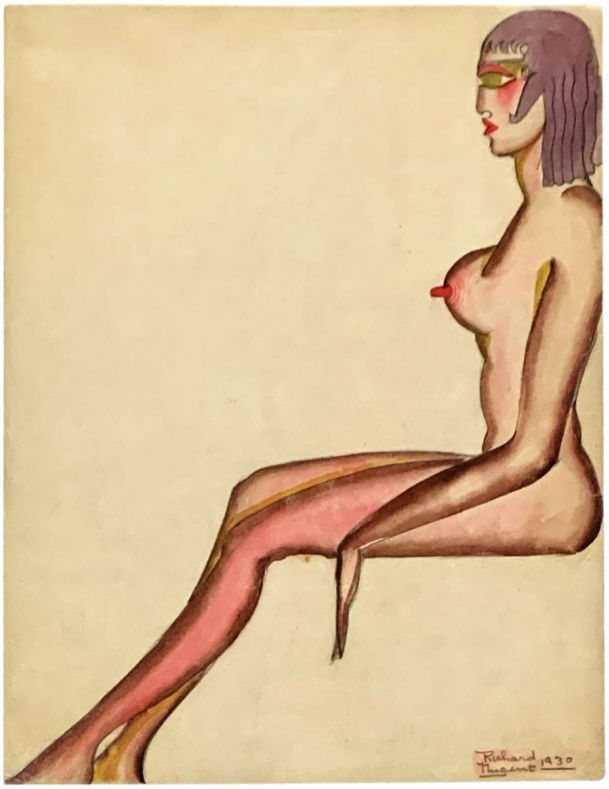


Fig. 71. Richard Bruce Nugent, *Mrs. Herod*, from the *Salome* series, 1930

in motion was heavily influenced by the work of the late nineteenth-century British artist Aubrey Beardsley, whose expressive graphic oeuvre focused on the grotesque, the decadent, and the erotic, all features that became associated with aestheticism and the fin-de-siècle Decadent movement in art and literature.

For his *Salome* series of 1930, Nugent was directly inspired by Oscar Wilde's 1893 theatrical version of the biblical story, originally written in French, in addition to Beardsley's illustrations for Wilde's 1894 first English-language version of the play. In his unique visual rendition of Wilde's subversive tale, Nugent used parody not only to flirt with "the signs of gender identity," but also to inject queerness "within the very pages of the Bible."[22] Through many of his illustrations, Nugent eroticized the bodies of female dancers and gave each woman the name of a biblical character, such as Naomi, Hagar, or Ruth (figs. 71, 72). His conflation of wanton sexuality and personages taken from the Bible was highly transgressive, especially given the repressive conditions he and other gay men faced during the period.[23] Presenting sexuality as a kind of performance—as drag—the women in Nugent's *Salome* series are unconventional in

terms of their active and evocative poses, and their pubic regions are highlighted with pink or yellow triangular shapes and brightly colored pink, yellow, or green hair. They exhibit extended, perky nipples colored in bright chromatic hues that match the heavily applied makeup caked around their eyes and lips. These very unbiblical women convey the deconstruction of gender, referencing as well the Hamilton Lodge balls and other similar venues as part of a modernist commentary on and rebellion against religion, the church, and status quo notions of sexuality. Speaking of these works in relation to the performative gender fluidity of the drag balls, Nugent remarked that "'male' and 'female' impersonation was at its peak as night club entertainment."[24] He described one such venue, the Ubangi Club, as having "a chorus of singing, dancing, be-ribboned and be-rouged 'pansies.'... The famous Hamilton Lodge 'drag' balls were becoming more and more notorious and gender was becoming more and more conjectural."[25] Located in Harlem at 131st Street and Seventh Avenue, the Ubangi Club was one of several urban cabarets operating between 1934 and 1937 where queers of all racial, gender, and sexual stripes gathered in celebration of gender fluidity, cross-dressing, and other queer acts. The name was intended "to evoke African roots" and a "suggestion of voodooism."[26] Owing to its exotic nature, the spot attracted many tourists to Harlem's nightclub scene, where they saw acts such as the cross-dressing blues singer Gladys Bentley, a sometimes headliner at the Ubangi during the 1930s.

The androgynous nature of Nugent's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 73) attests to the artist's unconventional and disruptive approach to depicting gender norms as well as the transition of male into female and masculine into feminine, from his pronounced eyes and thick eyelids to the delineated eyebrows and delicate yet thick, voluptuous lips. His long hair, which is pulled back behind his ear and falls at the back to his shoulders, and the three-quarter view and the positions of the head and right shoulder, all underscore the sitter's gender-fluid countenance and bearing.

Not everyone within the broader Harlem/Black community embraced Nugent's celebratory, flagrantly subversive drawings or accepted Harlem's thriving gay subculture. While the mainstream and Black press ran stories of drag balls and other festive events in Harlem, eminent but conservative figures such as the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem from 1908 to 1937, and W. E. B. Du Bois campaigned vigorously against queers and homosexuality, viewing them as counter and detrimental to the agendas of racial uplift and Black respectability. In their individual ways, both men were on a mission to combat "stereotypes of the lascivious and primitive sexual Other."[27] Powell perceived gay men and lesbians not only as a prominent cause (and symptom) of social and moral decay, but also a threat to the institution of marriage, family, and the message of racial pride. From his pulpit and through his

Fig. 72. Detail of Richard Bruce Nugent, ***Untitled (Two Women)***, from the *Salome* series, 1930 (plate 114)

Fig. 73. Richard Bruce Nugent, ***Self-Portrait***, 1930

writings, he railed against homosexuality as "the sin that destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, that buried Pompeii alive and wrecked the mighty Roman Empire."[28] Du Bois, a major voice for the political and cultural Black elite, decried the focus on salacious Black sexuality in art and literature. Motivated by a Victorian sense of morality and respectability, he was interested in projecting an asexual image of racial uplift that meant purging all focus on sexuality or matters of gender fluidity from racial discourse. Du Bois was particularly rattled by Nugent's scandalous "Smoke, Lilies, and Jade," a 1926 short story of miscegenation, androgyny, and homoeroticism. Nugent later replied to Du Bois's dismay, acknowledging how, in Du Bois's eyes, he "had done an unspeakable thing. . . . I remember Du Bois did ask, 'Did you have to write about homosexuality? Couldn't you write about colored people? Who cares about homosexuality?' I said, 'You'd be surprised how good homosexuality is. I love it.' Poor Du Bois."[29]

For his part, Locke was rather circumspect in his critique of Nugent's outward displays of performative queer sexuality, which, it seems, may have been too campy and theatrical for his taste. Locke dismissed Nugent's "Smoke, Lilies, and Jade" as "effete echoes of contemporary decadence," preferring instead the more sedate expressions of queer sensibilities vested in the works of Walt Whitman or the sensualized homoerotic aesthetics of ancient Greek art and culture.[30]

Unlike gay contemporaries such as Locke, Barthé, and perhaps Hughes, who were more prudent about publicly expressing their queer sexuality, Nugent never hid his erotic interest in men. In addition to "Smoke, Lilies, and Jade," a group of ambiguous black-and-white graphic nude line drawings appeared in the November 1926 issue of *Fire!!*, described by one observer as a "queer modernist manifesto" (fig. 74).[31] With Nugent as both a cofounder and contributor, the journal constituted a "deliberate textual and visual provocation" intended to shock status quo sensibilities and promote a "militantly modernist aesthetic." It was through the visual and literary contents of the journal that Wilde's queer modernism was revived and "resignified . . . for an urban [Black] American context."[32]

Nugent's approach to depicting the body in his black-and-white drawings for *Fire!!* and his provocative colorful

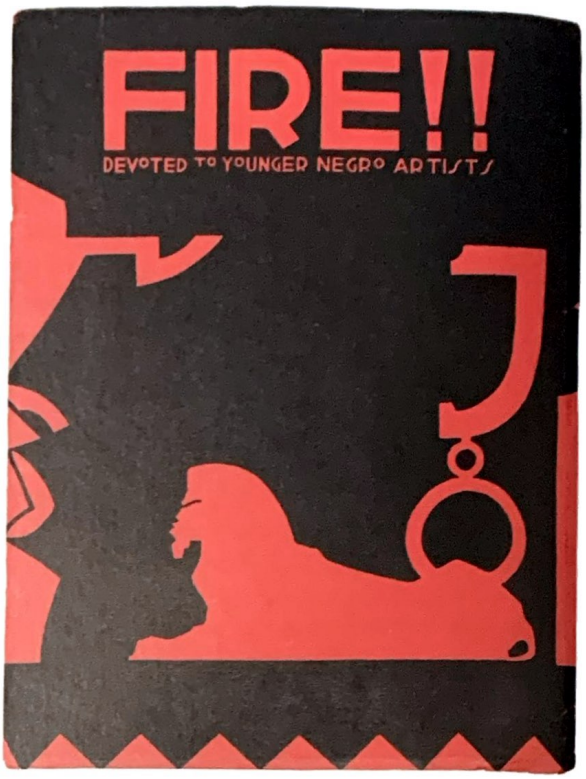


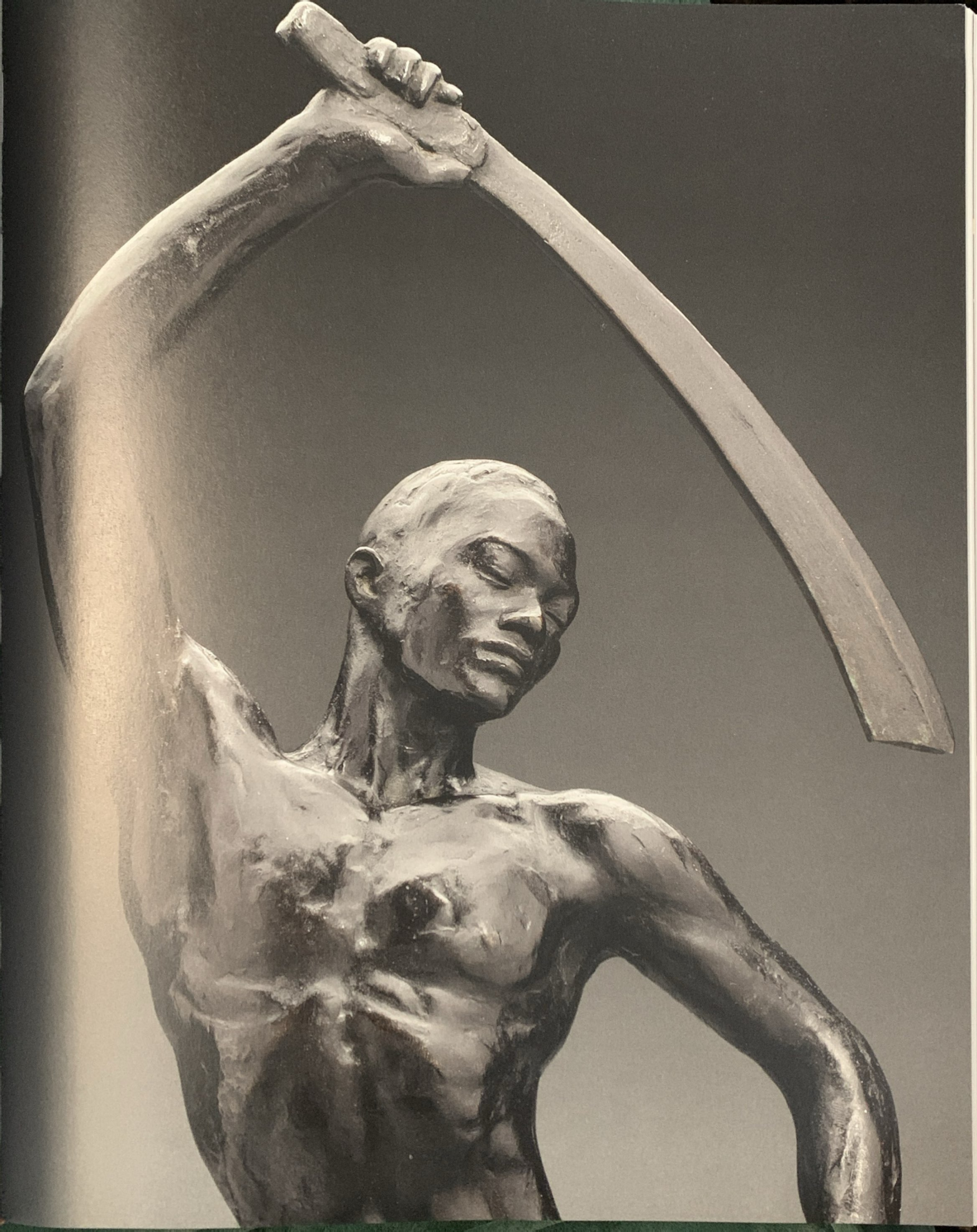
Fig. 74. Aaron Douglas, cover of *Fire!!* (November 1926)

illustrations for the *Salome* series were intended to expose the arbitrary divisions within binary structures such as black/white and male/female, calling attention to what scholar J. Edgar Bauer has referred to as "the ever-expanding diversification of what is representable as race and sexuality."[33] Nugent's works were thus decidedly modern in their attempts to break free from gender, sexual, and racial conventions as a means of achieving individual and group empowerment.

AFRICA INTO GREECE

In addition to being an expert in African art, Locke, as part of the Black educated elite, was widely read in ancient Greek literature and drama as well as Greek philosophy, often drawing on aspects from the latter in the formation of his New Negro ideology. There were other African American artists, such as Hale Woodruff, for example, whose work invoked the combining of African, ancient Greek, and even Buddhist art as aesthetic inspiration for Black creativity. When these influences are synthesized, as suggested by the figurines depicted in the top register of Woodruff's 1950–51 study

Fig. 75. Detail of Richmond Barthé, *Féral Benga*, 1935–36



for a panel from the series *The Art of the Negro* (plate 58), the intention was to shape New Negro and later African expression. Locke's invocation of classical antiquity, however, served an expanded diasporic purpose that also embraced queerness. As the historian Jeffrey Stewart has pointed out, what Locke admired most about ancient Greece was the notion of "Greek love" as "a synonym for homosexual love."[34] In Locke's romanticized vision of Greek antiquity, men were "enthralled with the pursuit of art and culture" coupled with the "love and affection of other men."[35] Indeed, Locke's role as a patron and mentor to the many Black male artists around him was motivated in part by this subjective take on the "Greek ideal of 'noble friendship,'" to the point where he attempted to activate the *erastes/eromenos* (older man/younger man) pederastic dynamic of classical antiquity in his brief relationship with Langston Hughes during their 1924 grand tour in Italy, an overture that reportedly made the young writer very uncomfortable. Locke later admitted to Hughes that, "with all my sensuality and sentimentality, I love sublimated things."[36] In his constant, furtive search for same-sex intimacy, Locke would later attempt such Hellenic bonding—again unsuccessfully—first with Nugent and then with Richmond Barthé.

Locke's intellectual and emotional investment in ancient Greece signaled, according to Stewart, "that he wanted an African American renaissance that would be sufficiently creative and androgynous for both his aesthetic sense and his sexual orientation to be nurtured within it."[37] Thus, just as the eighteenth-century art historian and archaeologist Johann Winckelmann had subsumed his own homosexual subjectivity in his musings over works of classical statuary, Locke did a similar thing in later linking the Greek golden age with ninth-century West Africa. In essence, as pointed out by Stewart, "Locke's model for a golden age in Africa was fundamentally 'Grecian,'"[38] an outlook supported by essays penned by Locke during the 1920s and 1930s. In "A Note on African Art" (1924), for example, which appeared in a special issue of *Opportunity* magazine, he referred to African art as "classic," drawing a direct link to the comparable art of fifth-century Greece.[39] Locke believed that the art of both civilizations had similar qualities, such as balance, grace, and proportion, that centered on the perfection of form.[40] Later essays, including "Art Lessons from the Congo" and "A Collection of Congo Art," from 1927, as well as his "African Art: Classic Style" from 1935, make similar parallels between African art and the art of classical antiquity.[41]

Locke's New Negro philosophy fostered a "legitimation of [homoerotic] desire in an African past and cultural matrix," couching his preoccupations with same-sex desire as a subtext beneath the surface of the cultural significance of Africa.[42] This was a point of view and strategy fervently embraced and exploited by the African American sculptor Richmond Barthé, whose male nudes grapple with matters of race, spirituality, and homoerotic desire. Locke, in his role as a friend and mentor to many young New Negro male artists, eagerly took the young sculptor under his wing when Barthé arrived in New York City in 1928. Like Locke, Barthé was a shy, closeted gay man, and their relationship, while not decidedly sexual, went beyond the Greek ideal of "noble friendship" and ventured into a kind of queer camaraderie in which their mutual interests as Black gay men crystallized around the person and body of François Benga, a Senegalese dancer based in Paris in the early 1920s. Benga, who adopted the stage name Féral (meaning wild or untamed), starred at the Folies-Bergère. He befriended and often danced on stage with Josephine Baker, whom he adored and occasionally emulated by dressing and performing as her in drag.

Barthé's sculpture *Féral Benga* succeeds at synthesizing elements of classicism and primitivism in one African body, paralleling Locke's attempt to marry Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism in his New Negro thinking (fig. 75). It is also a key work of Afro-modernism as a reflection of Benga's hybrid dancing style, which has been characterized as "primitive," balletic, and acrobatic.[43] In its "intercultural hybridity" and queer inferences, made through a representation of the male nude in motion, the sculpture became a touchstone for Barthé's continued obsession with dance, ritual, spirituality, and the evocation of homoerotic desire through the Black male physique.[44] Benga became a representational focal point among several gay male artists living and working

Fig. 76. Detail of Richmond Barthé, *Boxer*, 1942 (plate 61)

Fig. 77. Beauford Delaney, *James Baldwin*, 1945

inside and outside both Paris and the Harlem Renaissance, including, in addition to Barthé, Carl Van Vechten, George Platt Lynes, Pavel Tchelitchew, and Jean Cocteau. For these and other queer modernists, Benga's body served "as a shared theme" deployed within a social space where cultures met and clashed, often in the context of "highly asymmetrical relations of power."[45]

Boxing was another theme for Barthé in which he attempted to sanction the combining of race and same-sex desires in the athletic Black body in motion. His *Boxer* (fig. 76) was included in the 1942 *Artists for Victory* exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, organized in recognition of the one-year anniversary of the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the subsequent engagement of the United States in World War II (see also the essay by Lowery Stokes Sims in this volume). In that context, *Boxer* would have been seen as an appropriate symbol of active liberation and victory against an adversary, symbolic of the "nation's will to victory."[46] Conceived as a contribution to the war effort, the sculpture was also created during the heyday of African American pugilists such as Joe Louis, known as the Brown Bomber, whose epic victory in a prizefight with his German opponent Max Schmeling in 1938 related directly to the war but also heightened tensions within American race relations, which were already fraught.

Interestingly, Louis was not the direct inspiration for *Boxer*. That distinction went to the Cuban lightweight champion Eligio Sardiñas Montalvo, nicknamed Kid Chocolate or the Cuban Bon Bon (French for "candy"), whom Barthé likened to "a vain 'ballet dancer'" in reference to his style in the ring, which some described as slick and exhibiting a graceful flair.[47] As with all his male nudes, Barthé would have viewed the subject through a queer lens, that is, as an "object of desire, one that a gay man like Barthé might want to be with more than become."[48]

As was the case with his reenvisioning of Benga in sculptural form, Barthé had to imagine and then cast his Black boxer within a Greek ideal of heroic nudity and athleticism. A reflection by the artist on the erotic potential and vulnerability of the Black male physique, *Boxer*, in its romanticized elegance, parallels Barthé's sculpture of the dancer as a visual essay on the aesthetics and coded eroticism of the male form in motion. Both *Boxer* and *Féral Benga* bring into three-dimensional sculptural form the intersection of Black and gay by way of the male nude, serving as representational evidence of a layered construction of both imaginative and profound sociopolitical and erotic perspectives projected onto Black male bodies during and beyond the Harlem Renaissance.

BEYOND QUEER HARLEM

The transgressive and transformational combination of spirituality, Blackness, and queerness manifested in Nugent's *Salome* series and Barthé's *Féral Benga* took a different turn in the post–Harlem Renaissance period with Beauford Delaney's portraits of the African American writer James Baldwin (fig. 77). Today, any discussion of the former automatically evokes the name and iconic representation of the latter. The two men met in New York in 1941, when the writer was just sixteen and the painter was forty. *Dark Rapture* (plate 112), one of several intimate portraits of Baldwin produced by Delaney through the mid-1960s, is the lone example of him in an outdoor setting in the nude. As with most of Delaney's portraits of Baldwin, *Dark Rapture* is thickly painted with bold, expressive coloration and intense luminosity. The effect is symbolic, emotional, and aesthetic, speaking to the early relationship between the two men. The use of the word "dark" in the title signals racial distinction in an affirming and desirous way, whereas "rapture" connotes an emotional feeling of intense spiritual pleasure perhaps bordering on carnal joy. Delaney and Baldwin were emotionally, historically, and artistically linked, but more than that, beginning with their very first meeting, Delaney became Baldwin's confidante, father figure, and Black and gay soul mate—his moral compass as well as his creative muse—and, in a way, assumed the role that Locke had played with many young New Negroes two decades earlier. *Dark Rapture* could thus be viewed as one of several visual manifestations of queer camaraderie, solidifying the interface between art and social life and serving as a visual means among queers and other creative individuals for expressing concerns about matters of identity, marginality, and the search for belonging in the modern world.

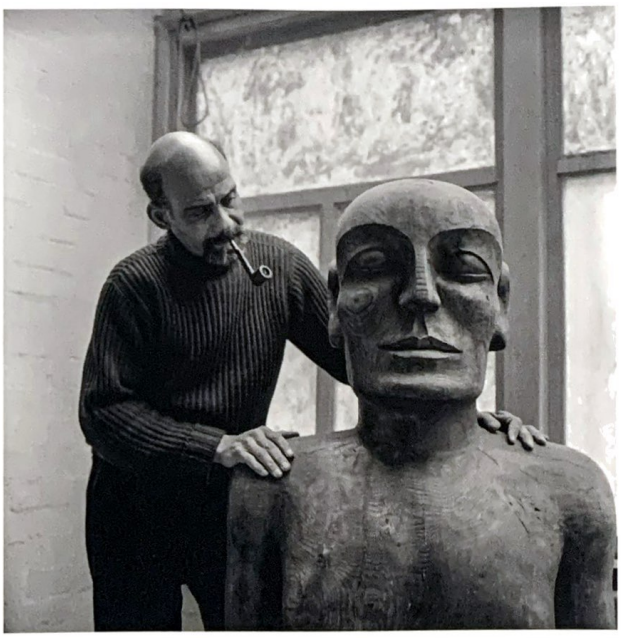
RONALD MOODY, INTERNATIONAL MODERNIST

EGO AHAIWE SOWINSKI

THE pioneering modernist sculptor and philosopher Ronald Clive Moody was born in Jamaica on August 12, 1900, to a family of medical and legal professionals, including his brother Locksley, a Supreme Court judge, his sister Elise, a well-respected nurse, and Charles, a dentist.[1] Another brother, Harold, a doctor whom the artist later portrayed in bronze, was a leading advocate for abolishing the color bar in the United Kingdom and in 1931 founded the League of Coloured Peoples (LCP) in London.[2] Other prominent members of the LCP included the Jamaican activist Una Marson; the Trinidadian historian C. L. R. James; Jomo Kenyatta, the first prime minister of Kenya; the noted Pan-Africanist George Padmore; and the renowned American singer, actor, and civil rights campaigner Paul Robeson, whom the artist, a friend, would eventually depict in a 1968 portrait (National Museum of Wales, Cardiff).[3]

In 1923, Moody relocated to the United Kingdom to begin studies at the Royal Dental Hospital at King's College, London, where he pursued dentistry, in part, as a way of conforming to high family expectations. As Moody continued his medical studies, he became increasingly interested in all forms of art and spent more and more time visiting galleries and museums, including a fateful trip in 1928 to the British Museum, where he strayed into the Egyptian Room and, transfixed by what he saw, resolved to become a sculptor. With no formal art training, Moody instead sought the guidance of friends, many of whom were sculptors, and by dint of trial and error, and perseverance, gained confidence through experiments in plaster.

After Moody qualified as a dentist, in 1930, he opened a practice in central London and in 1934 moved into a garden flat with an attached greenhouse, which became his art studio.[4] Between 1935 and 1941 he exhibited his work in London, Paris, Amsterdam, and the United States, and produced a body of some forty known sculptures in bronze and a variety of woods. This period in Moody's development as an artist, which saw him find his voice and evolve a style of carving that would eventually become his signature mode, reflects what art critic Guy Brett, in his 2003 retrospective assessment of Moody, "A Reputation Restored," characterized as one of the key moments of wider recognition for the artist. Among Moody's gifts, according to Brett, was his ability to combine a sense of movement and stillness in a single figure. He also had a talent for reading wood grain and employing it to great expressive effect in works that are at once abstract and modern but also redolent with symbolic or allegorical overtones.[5] *Johanaan*, for example, carved from a single block of elm, rests on the chunky remains of the piece of wood from which it was hewn, nodding to (or echoing) its precarved state. The eyes of this overwhelmingly peaceful figure, absent pupils, seem to stare beyond the present moment into an unknown future (fig. 79). Undeniably powerful with its over-lifesize head and torso, *Johanaan* is enhanced by the rich honeycomb color and



Installation of Ronald Moody's *Midonz* (1937) in the exhibition *Negro Art*, Baltimore Museum of Art, 1939

Fig. 79. Ronald Moody with *Johanaan* (1936) in 1963

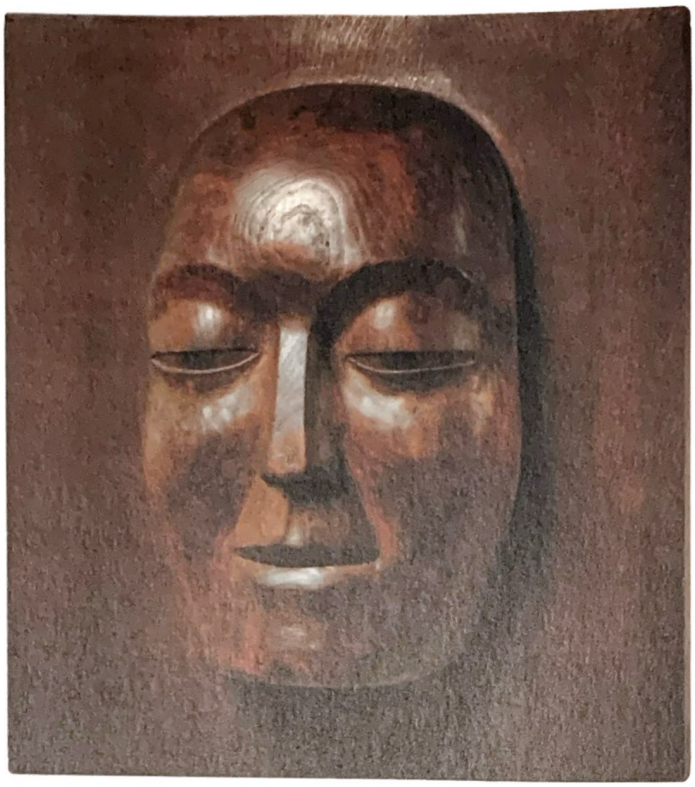


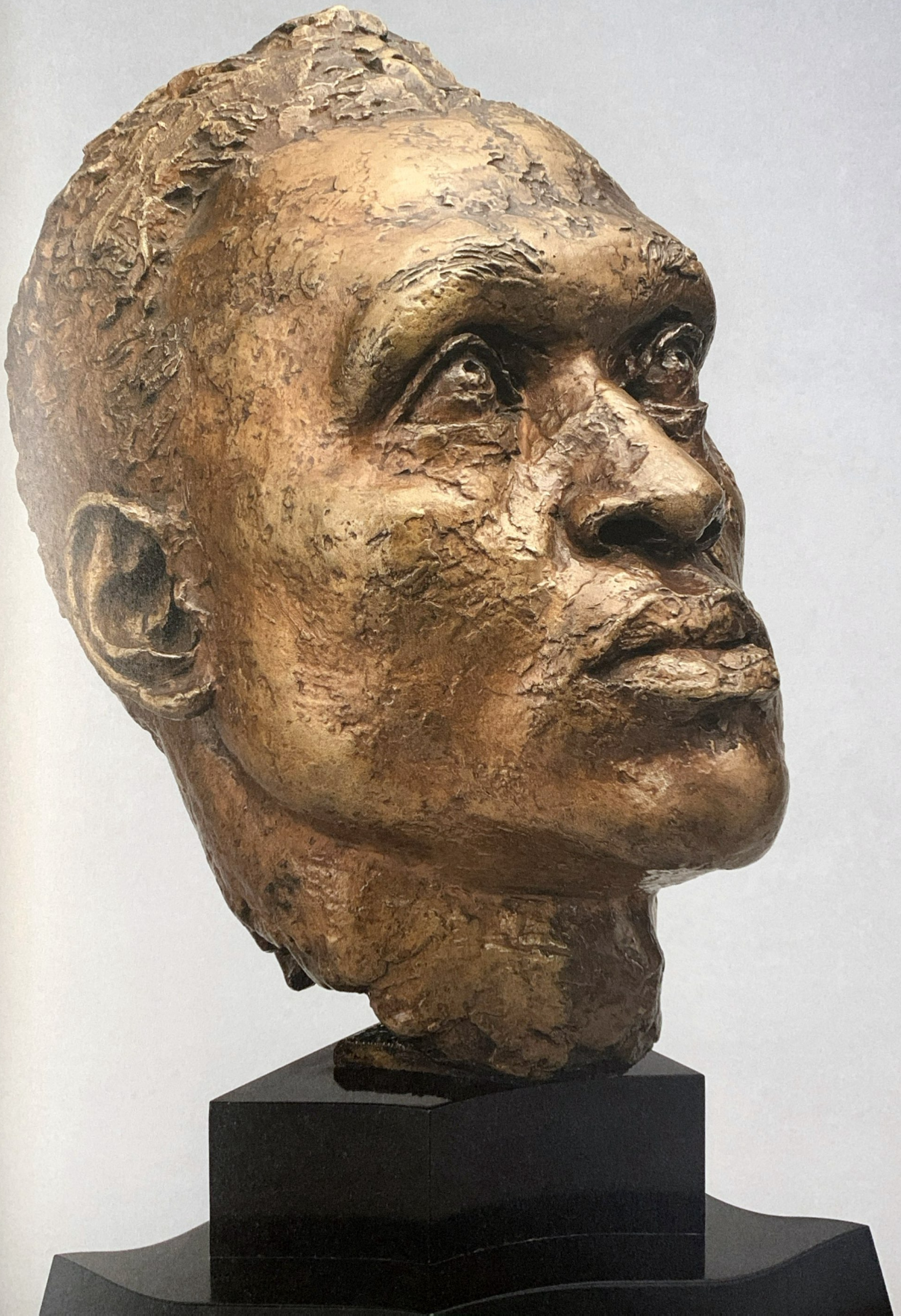
Fig 80. Ronald Moody, *L'Homme*, 1937

exquisite swirls of the natural wood grain, which Moody masterfully manipulated to foster an illusion of constant inner movement.

Moody's oversize mask *L'Homme*, from 1937, echoes ancient Egyptian funerary coffin fittings or funeral masks and could be perceived as a nod to the artist's life-changing encounter at the British Museum (fig. 80).[6] With its implied smile from the slightly upturned, outlined lips, the mask, which is mounted on a square oak plaque, possesses an unassuming simplicity. The heavy-lidded eyes, barely open, give the impression of rest or meditation, and the artist, as he did in his other works from this period, used the natural wood grain to suggest character and allow the sculpture to exude warmth. As it creates a space for viewers to contemplate life, death, and even eternity, the mask is a prime example of what artist, curator, and scholar Eddie Chambers has described as Moody's presentation of the "compelling amalgamation of the breadth of humanity" and his spiritual universalism.[7]

Moody exhibited his sculptures for the first time in a 1935 show at the Adams Gallery, London, alongside the work of Jacob Epstein, Eileen Agar, Hilda Carline, John Banting, and Kalifala Sidibé, among other prominent artists from that time.[8] Moody especially admired Epstein's work (he described *The Visitation*, a lifesize bronze from 1926, as "the perfect balance of . . . emotional content and sculptural form") and would occasionally visit the older artist at his London studio on a Sunday afternoon for tea.[9] The exhibition they participated in, titled *Negro Art*, was held in conjunction with the publication of *Arts of West Africa* by Oxford University Press and featured some of the bronze plaques stolen during the infamous Benin Punitive Expedition of 1897.[10] A review in *The Keys*, the LCP's official quarterly journal, recorded that Henry Moore was among the artists, press, poets, musicians, and critics who attended the opening reception.[11] Although further research is required to determine whether Moody and Moore met or interacted, there was, at the very least, some degree of overlap between their social artistic networks at this time, and it is likely that they would have been at the same places on multiple occasions.

Fig. 81. Detail of Jacob Epstein, *Paul Robeson,*



Moody shared with Moore a modernism that was informed by antiquity and inspired, in part, by visits to the British Museum and the sculptures of ancient Egypt, Africa, and Mexico that they had encountered there in the 1920s.[12] Both Moody and Moore—as well as Edna Manley, Barbara Hepworth, and John Skeaping—were part of a younger generation of artists in 1930s Britain who helped change the perception and status of carving in wood, seeing it not as a utilitarian material, best suited to architectural embellishments and small-scale functional or decorative objects, but as a medium suitable for refined works of high art.[13] This important shift distinguished them from the older generation of modernists, like Epstein, who worked predominantly in stone and bronze.

Both Epstein and Moody were friends with Paul Robeson, whom Epstein, in his autobiography, fondly recalled socializing with (along with Carl Van Vechten) at informal gatherings and parties in Harlem in 1927, when he returned to New York for four months (October to January) with more than fifty bronze works to exhibit. Epstein's portrait of Robeson was one of three he completed during his visit home (the others were of Franz Boas and John Dewey). "I would have liked to have worked longer with him," lamented Epstein, who described how Robeson would sing lullabies to Peggie Jean, his daughter, "but I had already booked my passage back, and so the study I did of Robeson remains a sketch."[14] In Epstein's textured bronze bust, Robeson is animated—his eyes look upward toward the sky—and the portrait exudes "the charisma, strength and dignity" often associated with him (fig. 81). As displayed today at the York Art Gallery, the portrait, one of the most popular works in the gallery's collection, is coated with a special conservation wax to aid accessibility and enable visitors to touch and "trace the marks made by the artist."[15]

In the mid-1930s, Moody's work came to the notice of Marie Seton, a British actress and art critic as well as a biographer whose subjects included Robeson. Seton, in turn, introduced Moody's sculpture to the Brazilian film director Alberto Cavalcanti, who, impressed and intrigued, invited Moody to mount a one-artist exhibition in Paris. That show, at Galerie Billiet-Vorms in 1937, included fifteen works and received positive reviews; it was followed in 1938 by one in Amsterdam, at the Kunstzaal van Lier, which was likewise warmly received. These successes prompted Moody to move to Paris and settle in Montmartre with Helene Coppel-Cowan, his longtime companion, whom he married on July 22, 1938, at the British Consulate.[16] The couple continued to live in Paris until 1939, when the outbreak of World War II forced them to abandon their home and belongings—including the artist's works and all his tools—in order to escape with friends through occupied France before eventually returning to Britain in 1941.

Through a network of supporters and advocates, in 1939 Moody was invited to participate in the touring exhibition *Contemporary Negro Art*, a large-scale survey in America organized by the Harmon Foundation. The director of the foundation, Mary Beattie Brady, had expressed interest in whether Moody might have "something unusual to bring to the attention of the people in this country" and suggested that Elmer Carter, editor of the National Urban League's publication *Opportunity*, might be able to provide further context as well as a potential contact.[17] Carter pointed the foundation toward James S. Watson,[18] a Jamaican who in 1930 had been elected to the New York City Municipal Court and as such was the city's first African American judge.[19] Watson later met Marie Seton in London at an engagement of the English Speaking Union and informed her of the foundation's interest in Moody's work. Seton contacted the foundation on his behalf and was instrumental, through her connections, in gaining him invitations to additional exhibitions in Paris and Amsterdam as well as a one-artist show at Guggenheim Jeune, London, which had opened in January 1938.[20] During its eighteen-month history, Peggy Guggenheim's first gallery mounted twenty exhibitions of abstract and Surrealist art, including contemporary sculpture by artists such as Wassily Kandinsky, Henry Moore, Constantin Brancusi, and Alexander Calder, and is credited as "a catalyst for the growing appreciation of modern art in England."[21]

Moody's participation in *Contemporary Negro Art*, one of the first major exhibitions in the United States to feature

Fig. 82. Detail of Ronald Moody, *Dr. Harold A. Moody*, 1946 (plate 87)

African American artists, represents what Guy Brett considers another key moment of recognition for the artist.[22] Conceived by the writer, philosopher, educator, and cultural leader Alain Locke, the exhibition, which opened on February 3, 1939, at the Baltimore Museum of Art and later traveled to the Dallas Museum of Fine Art, featured twelve sculptures by Moody, including *Wohin* and *Midonz*, alongside works by artists such as Aaron Douglas, Richmond Barthé, Sargent Johnson, and Lois Mailou Jones.[23] *Wohin*, a ghostly head made of oak, was the artist's first attempt at carving in wood. Describing it, Cynthia Moody, the artist's niece, has noted how the visible grain forms "a kind of contour map of the features. Black-filled fissure lines . . . fringe across the forehead and converge at the top of the head in a scooped-out circle."[24] Equally striking and enigmatic, *Midonz*, a quietly spiritual head figure in elm, confronts us with references to an ancient past in its integration of Afro-Indian, pre-Columbian, and ancient Egyptian features. The polished grain imparts and emphasizes an expression that conjures a notion of anticipation, while the broad face, shallow cheekbones, flattened nose, and stylized hair all reflect an "undeniably Egyptian" influence.[25]

In his recent biography of Alain Locke, Jeffrey C. Stewart describes the iconic image of two young Black children gazing up at *Midonz*, towering above them on a plinth, monumental and masklike, as emblematic of what Locke hoped to achieve with *Contemporary Negro Art*, namely, fostering hope, optimism, and wonder at the possibilities they might see before them (fig. 78).[26] Along with *Wohin* and *Tacet*, *Midonz* formed a trinity of heroic sculptures through which Moody sought to explore the inner life of humanity and the possibility of evolution through self-awareness.[27] The art historian Kobena Mercer attributes certain aspects of these hybridized, mythological figures to Moody's intercultural upbringing in the Caribbean and suggests that such works contributed to the region's almost gravitational pull on artists and writers of the period such as Aaron Douglas, Katherine Dunham, and Zora Neale Hurston, all of whom visited the Caribbean in the 1930s and 1940s.[28]

Following Moody's breakthrough in *Contemporary Negro Art*, his work was featured in a variety of other venues. In 1940, *Ripple* (1937) and *Self-Portrait 3* (1937) were exhibited at the Howard University Gallery of Art and the Galerie René Breteau, Paris, and later that year *Ripple* was also included in the World's Fair American Negro Exposition held at the Chicago Coliseum, a months-long event featuring more than 120 exhibits highlighting the artistic, cultural, industrial, and scientific achievements of Black people throughout history.[29] Moody's work was also exhibited at Columbia University and Wellesley College at the end of 1940, and while we do not know which sculptures were shown at Columbia, the Wellesley presentation included *Wohin*, *Une Tête* (1937), *L'Homme*, *Annie* (1938), *Midonz*, and *Seated Figure* (1938).[30] Unfortunately, Moody's works became waylaid in the United States for the duration of World War II, and they remained in the custody of the Harmon Foundation until 1952 notwithstanding his efforts, with Seton's support, to have them returned. They were all eventually shipped back to the United Kingdom except for *Midonz*, which, despite the artist's entreaties—including an unanswered letter to the Harmon Foundation, which was disbanded in 1966—he never saw again, a source of grief for the rest of his life.[31]

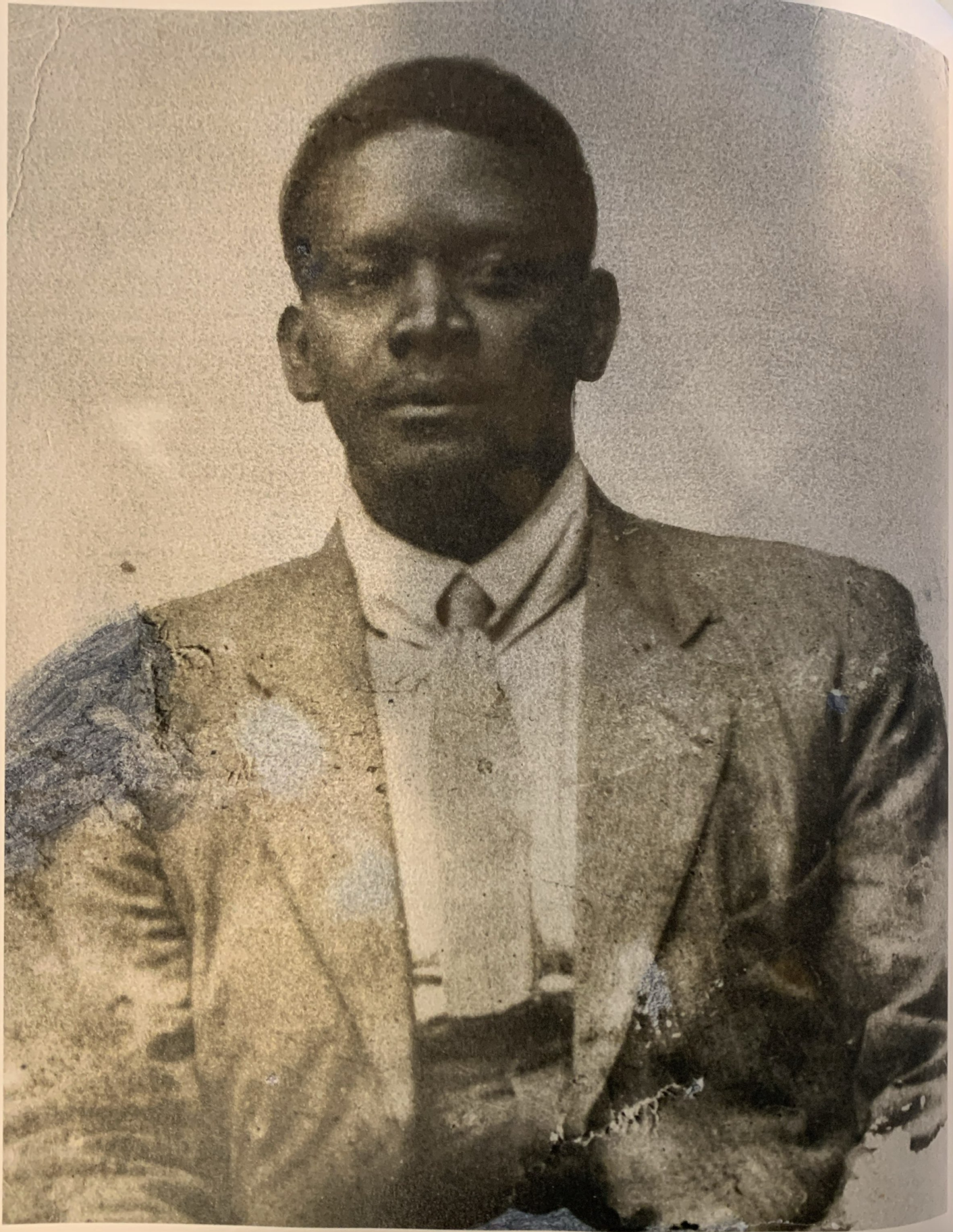
After the war, Moody became well known for his portraiture. In 1952 he was "invited to become a member of the Society of Portrait Sculptors" and "participated in all the Society's annual and thematic shows until 1971."[32] Guy Brett has rightly observed that portraiture, for Moody, was "necessary to his livelihood" and "the most conventional aspect of his work," but that it was also "a practice which somehow informed or underlay, in a transformed state, the original and most beautiful qualities" of his creative output.[33] This aspect of Moody's art is evidenced in his 1946 bronze portrait of his eldest brother, the beloved physician and civil rights campaigner Harold Moody (fig. 82).[34] Exquisite and bold, the large head is made of bronze but could easily be confused for the deepest black ebony. It portrays a proud, distinguished man whose furrowed brow and strong face, with its plump cheeks harboring deep, lived-in folds of skin, suggest wisdom and intense thought. Bought by public subscription, the bust was eventually presented to the London Missionary Society, which Harold Moody had chaired and been involved with for a number of years.[35]

In recent decades, new scholarship on African diasporic art histories and exhibiting practices from the 1930s to the

1940s—including the crucial role of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), along with their collections and archives—continues to recast how art history is written, theorized, presented, and accessed.[36] As part of this process, focused research on Moody during the interwar period has the potential to evoke fresh insights into the constellation of Black artistic thought and practice during this formative period, expanding our understanding of Moody's body of work and its contributions to the development of modern British sculpture.

At the center of this ongoing reappraisal of the artist's career is Cynthia Moody, a documentary filmmaker and editor who, after her uncle's death, inherited his estate and compiled his papers, which are now held by Tate Archive.[37] Her tenacious spirit, meticulous research, and determined advocacy have helped to ensure that Moody's legacy would be preserved and, along with it, a better understanding of its cultural, historical, and artistic context, which will aid in mapping and illuminating his relationships with key figures of the Harlem Renaissance as well as other touchstone movements and moments in twentieth-century Black culture, such as the Caribbean Artists Movement (1966–72), the Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Rome (1959), the First World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar (1966), and the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture—FESTAC (1977). Her work documenting Moody's artistic history and critical reception, including scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, photographs, and ephemera compiled over decades, will prove invaluable to future scholars as they continue to study and deepen our understanding of Moody's life and oeuvre.[38]

In addition, Moody's posthumous inclusion in seminal exhibitions over the past few decades has kept him in public view and helped secure his legacy in the citadel of modernism. Rasheed Araeen's *The Other Story: Afro-Asian Artists in Post-War Britain* (1989), for example, contextualized Moody's oeuvre within a framework of disunity, meaning sometimes dissimilar forms and styles that nonetheless create a common ground where the human predicament is mutually recognized and universalized.[39] In 1997, Richard J. Powell and David A. Bailey's *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance*, which featured Moody's beloved *Midonz*, recontextualized the artist as having worked broadly within the framework of Locke's New Negro movement.[40] The following year, Mora Beauchamp-Byrd's *Transforming the Crown: African, Asian, and Caribbean Artists in Britain, 1966–1996*, presented by the Caribbean Cultural Center in Harlem, positioned the artist as a pioneer in that milieu.[41] Gemma Romain and Caroline Bressey's *Spaces of Black Modernism: London 1919–1939* explored the experiences and interactions of people with diverse ethnic backgrounds in the London art world during the interwar period, including artists such as John Banting, Edward Burra, Jacob Epstein, Claude McKay, Una Marson, Elisabeth Welch, and Nancy Cunard.[42] More recently, Tate Britain's *Life Between Islands* (2021–22) firmly situated Moody, alongside his brother Harold, as notable members of the Caribbean community who converged in London in the 1920s and 1930s, underscoring how Moody's work is increasingly central to discussions about the contributions of twentieth-century African diaspora artists to the creation of new forms of modernist art from the 1930s to the present.[43]



HARLEM AND THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN

STEPHANIE ARCHANGEL

THE PHOTOGRAPH

In 1921, Juan de Jesus, a native of the small Caribbean island of Curaçao, found himself in New York. After docking in Manhattan, he traveled to Harlem, where he encountered the celebration of race, and the revival of African American art and culture, that came to be known as the Harlem Renaissance. Like many other Caribbean men, De Jesus—whose story is told in the 2021 documentary *The Photograph*, directed by his grandson, Sherman de Jesus—worked as a sailor, and when he needed his picture taken, he ended up at the studio of James Van Der Zee. A leading figure in the Harlem Renaissance, Van Der Zee was known for portraying his subjects with elegance and dignity, in effect archiving African American society as it was flourishing in Harlem at that time. In De Jesus's portrait, we see the forty-year-old sailor in his suit and tie, sitting up straight, looking slightly to his left but very much aware of the camera (fig. 83). While it remains unclear if Van Der Zee himself took this photograph—he also restored photographs, an important part of his business—the portrait bears his studio stamp and reflects the characteristic sensitivity with which he portrayed Black sitters.

Unlike in Harlem, photography in Curaçao at that time was accessible only to the wealthy, mostly white elite. Like the rest of the Caribbean region, Curaçao belonged to what is known as "Plantation America," an area, ranging from the southern United States to northern Brazil, that shares a history as European plantation colonies sustained by African enslaved labor.[1] In the seventeenth century, the Dutch-based West India Company (WIC) had developed numerous Caribbean islands into trading posts—including Curaçao (1634); Aruba, Bonaire, and St. Eustatius (1636); Saba (1640); and St. Maarten (1648)—and, later, the South American territory Suriname (1667).[2] Curaçao, in particular, became the hub of the infamous transatlantic triangular trade that facilitated the kidnapping of Africans and their enslavement in the Caribbean.

By the twentieth century, although the 30,000 Black inhabitants of Curaçao outnumbered the 4,000 white, the latter remained the ruling class.[3] People of color in the Caribbean islands were rarely enshrined with the same respect as those considered full members of society. In photographs from this era, Afro-Caribbean peoples are depicted mostly in an anthropological way: poorly clothed, standing in groups, in front of former slave huts, and trapped in impoverished conditions. Even after the construction of the Royal Dutch Shell oil refinery (1915–18) in the city center brought some modernization to the island, photographers of non-white islanders continued to portray the Dutch Caribbean as a land of the "other" or as a place for "those who have yet to be civilized"(fig. 84).[4] This fictive "othering" of Black islanders was especially widespread in postcards sold in local shops to tourists and travelers (fig. 85).

In contrast, New York was a metropole dominated by skyscrapers, neon lights, and modern cultural movements like jazz. There, De Jesus, who came from the largely segregated world of Curaçao, made history simply by having the ability to commission a formal portrait. As far as we know, the photograph of De Jesus is the only surviving individual portrait of an Afro-Caribbean man from Curaçao in the

James Van Der Zee Studio (?), *Juan de Jesus*, 1921

Fig. 84. David van der Ree, *Shell Refinery, Curaçao*, late 1920s

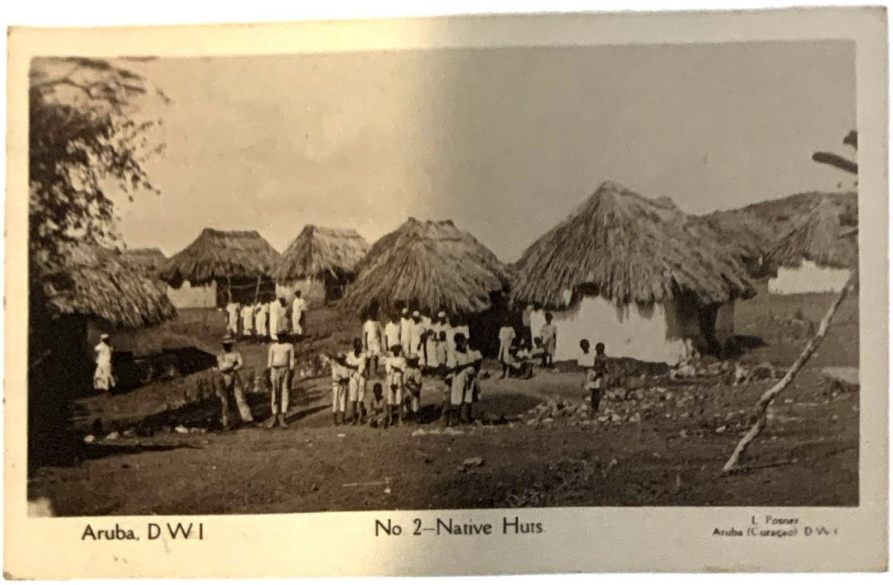


Fig. 85. A. D. Capriles and Co., *Native Huts*, ca. 1920

twenties.[5] Such early portraits in which the sitter is depicted as a gentleman rather than an ethnographic subject mark a distinct shift in how Black people were beginning to take control of their own self-representations. The development of these modes of self-depiction also coincided with the fifty-year anniversary of abolition in the Dutch Caribbean Islands, where the legal construct of slavery was abolished in 1863 but the spiritual liberation of Black islanders remained an ongoing struggle.

MEDARDO DE MARCHENA

After the abolition of slavery, formerly enslaved communities on Curaçao developed "Panama" hats (made of braided straw and woven by locals) into the island's most important export (fig. 86). With New York as the largest consumer of these hats, many traders from the island found their way to the city, where they encountered new ideas and ways of expression.[6] On Curaçao they were accustomed to local artists who painted mostly white subjects or landscape watercolors in a European style with occasional South American influences. These artists—including John de Pool, Nechi Pieters, Cornelis Gorsira, and John Ecker—were considered traditionalists, adhering to the standards of a nineteenth-century academicism and Impressionism.[7] In Harlem, travelers instead witnessed a new awakening in the visual arts, with experimental artists combining influences from antiquity, modernism, realism, and African art, and placing the Black body at the center of it all. Alongside such artistic innovations, a growing movement was questioning the oppression, inequality, and injustices that resulted from slavery and racism.

Travelers to Harlem carried this spirit of resistance back to the Caribbean. The Curaçao-based writer Pedro Pablo Medardo (Dada) de Marchena,[8] for example, visited Harlem several times, initially as a merchant trying to sell Panama hats.[9] In 1919, then twenty years old, De Marchena spent two months in New York, where he came into contact with the ideas of the Jamaican activist Marcus Garvey.[10] Dedicated to instilling the descendants of the African diaspora with a sense of pride, Garvey advocated for racial equality and Black excellence. His movement urged Black people to start loving themselves and to resist the patterns of self-hate they had suffered under colonial rule. De Marchena was in awe of Garvey's pro-Black message and his newspaper, *Negro World*, which he praised in one of his pamphlets:

> I want to . . . draw your attention to the events of the day when twenty thousand Negroes, led by the renowned Negro Marcus Garvey, marched through the streets of Kingston, Jamaica, at the opening of the convention that espoused high ideals . . . and advocated equal rights for the Negroes. If you want to know more details about these events and about these enlightened Negroes, be sure to get your hands on the newspaper *Negro World*, which comes to Curaçao in large numbers, a quality newspaper because of the high level of writing that gives credit to the Negro race.[11]

Although *Wij slaven van Suriname* (*We Slaves of Suriname*) (1934), by the famed writer and theorist Anton de Kom,

Fig. 86. C. Winkel and Zonen, *Tejedoras de Sombreros*, 1910

is widely considered the earliest anticolonial book to emerge from the Dutch Caribbean, by the late 1920s to early 1930s De Marchena was already denouncing the racism and hypocrisy of the white elite as well as the exploitation of the Afro-Caribbean population in unprecedentedly fierce terms.[12] In 1929 De Marchena published the anticolonial, antiracist, and anti-Catholic pamphlet *Ignorancia ó educando un pueblo* (*Ignorance, or the Formation of a People*), which used Garvey's rhetoric of questioning racialized self-hate, asking, "Who is to blame, that we lack all those high ranks necessary to give prestige to the Negro race? Can't you think of it yourself, my readers?"[13] His pamphlet argues that the community was being "kept asleep" in an uneducated, submissive, and lethargic state owing to oppression by the colonial government, the Roman Catholic Church, and the oil refinery company. Speaking directly to the masses, De Marchena wrote his text in Papiamentu, the local creole tongue (a mixture of Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and West African), and not Dutch, which according to an 1819 law was the official language of the government and the educational system.

Encouraged by his encounter with the revolutionary ideology of the Harlem Renaissance, De Marchena published more inflammatory pamphlets. Although the distribution and reception of his work remains unclear, De Marchena was one of the first natives to fiercely critique white cultural hegemony and Dutch colonial rule. He not only challenged the Catholic church, he also called on Black society to reconsider its position on the island. The Curaçao polemicist Willem E. Kroon wrote similarly in 1933 in the magazine *De onpartijdige* (*The Impartial*) about resisting negative connotations associated with black skin: "Do not speak of yourself in terms of *triste color*, sad color, no doubt this is an invention of white people, so that we accept our color as 'sad.'"[14] Other thinkers, like De Kom, also sought ways to amplify Black voices, following the example of the Harlem Renaissance writers Alain Locke and W. E. B. Du Bois, by using archival data to write from the perspective of the enslaved.[15] De Kom, in turn, influenced the autodidact portrait painter Jan Adriaan Donker Duyvis, who was born in the former Dutch Indonesian capital of Batavia (now Jakarta). In his pastel portrait of De Kom (plate 91), made of brown, yellow, and purple tints, the writer is dressed in a brown suit and tie and looks quite dapper as his eyes gaze toward the ground, and he appears deep in thought. We cannot know if they ever met, but both men lived in The Hague. De Kom was born in 1898 in Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, and his grandparents, who had been born into enslaved status, would have no doubt shared stories about this with him.[16] Little is known about Duyvis, but the titles of some of his works, such as *Revolutionary* (*Ideaalstrijder*) suggest an appreciation for social justice.[17]

De Marchena's activism also attracted scrutiny from the island's intelligence service. Efforts to imprison and silence him failed until the outbreak of World War II, when legislation made it possible to jail De Marchena for propagating "dangerous state ideas." He spent the war years in an internment camp on the neighboring island of Bonaire, where he remained after the war and never wrote again. What is clear is that the Dutch government, after taking notice of his pamphlets, saw De Marchena as a danger to the state if he were to become influential. Long suppressed, his work has only

recently been rediscovered by a new generation of activists searching for anticolonial ideas on which to build.

THE RIJTSES' UNIA SURINAMESE CHURCH

Garvey's influence was also adapted by religious anticolonial thinkers in Suriname, which in the early twentieth century was still a Dutch territory. With the aim of uniting all people of African ancestry around the world, Garvey had created the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in order to establish a country and government of their own. His solution to the problems faced by people of African descent was the achievement of economic, social, political, and religious independence from white rulership.[18] If whites could view God as white, then people from the diaspora could view God as Black, Garvey argued.[19] In 1924, he canonized Jesus Christ as a "Black Man of Sorrows" and the Virgin Mary as a "Black Madonna." In his eyes, people of African descent needed to worship a God that understood their fight and suffering.

In the 1920s, a church and school were established in Suriname under the auspices of the U.S.-based African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), and in 1924 two brothers, Rudolf and Johannes Rijts, known locally as soapbox preachers, established a Surinamese branch of UNIA. The Rijts brothers were deeply religious, but they were also suspicious of the official Catholic doctrine of the church as preached in Suriname. The brothers rented a building in the Saramaccastraat, a main thoroughfare in Paramaribo, in order to organize UNIA-related meetings and preach Garvey's message of Black empowerment. Finding that Garvey's ideas resonated with their own interpretation of the Bible—which saw baptism, the Lord's Supper, church marriage, and the church tax as new laws invented by white rulers to oppress Black people[20]—their church called for a return to Africa and granted membership only to "full-blooded Negroes," subscribing to Garvey's belief in "a pure black race just as all self-respecting whites believe in a pure white race."[21] Although the return movement never fully materialized, it set in motion the process of Black awakening in Suriname.[22]

The brothers' church gained followers, but it was never a great success, forcing them to make ends meet by working as cobblers but also by organizing parties at their UNIA headquarters, which led to the downfall of their operation. These nightly alcohol-fueled brawls lasted until the early mornings, leading to complaints from the neighborhood. Eventually the authorities shut the church down, charging the brothers with the illegal sale of alcohol, running a nightclub without a permit, and evading taxes on admissions.[23] Johannes was later placed in a psychiatric institution in Wolfenbüttel, where he died after his discharge, while Rudolf ended up in prison for fraud and other crimes.

Unlike in Curaçao, where De Marchena saw the church and religion as obstacles to a spiritual and economic awakening for the Afro-Caribbean population, the Rijts brothers adopted religious practices into their pro-Black message. Their church, while unsuccessful, signaled the emerging consciousness of colonial resistance among the Afro-Surinamese population. Initially grounded in religion, this resistance movement grew into politics and social organizing. De Kom and labor leader Louis Doedel later rejected the religious ideas promulgated by the Rijtses, but they nonetheless worked in their slipstream as they organized strikes and unions to liberate the Afro-Surinamese population from the mental and physical strains of colonial rule.

HUISWOUD

How did the Rijts brothers come into contact with Garvey's ideas? It could very well have been thanks to the efforts of the Dutch Guianese–born Otto Huiswoud (1893–1961), who worked at the UNIA head office in Harlem and became an important figure in the Surinamese independence movement.[24] Unhappy with living conditions under colonial rule, Huiswoud left Suriname at the age of sixteen for Brooklyn, where he worked odd jobs and became interested in the Communist Party. While working on a pleasure boat in 1918, Huiswoud organized his fellow Black laborers into a union, attracting the attention of Socialist Party leadership. The party offered Huiswoud a one-year scholarship to study at the Rand School of Social Science, where he met a number of influential radical thinkers. He ended up working for the Afro-Caribbean American writer and Communist political activist Cyril Briggs in Harlem, with whom he founded the African Blood Brotherhood. He also served as the official candidate of the Workers Party of America (WPA) for the New York State Legislature.

Huiswoud traveled the world, corresponded with several key writers of the Harlem Renaissance movement, including Langston Hughes, and visited Moscow as the WPA delegate to the fourth World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1922 alongside the Jamaican-born writer Claude McKay. Later in life, Huiswoud and his wife, Hermina, moved to Europe, but following the rise of the Nazi regime they returned to settle in Suriname in 1941, where he was imprisoned for being a "communist propagandist." In 1947, the couple moved to Amsterdam, where he worked for the Royal Dutch post office and became one of the founding members of Vereniging Ons Suriname (VOS), an advocacy group for the Surinamese diaspora in the Netherlands, which still exists and today houses the Black Archives, a historical resource for books from Black and other under-researched perspectives.

LEGACIES

Although Juan de Jesus's portrait is one of the few visual traces of the Harlem Renaissance in the Dutch Caribbean, Caribbean social movements challenging the state and the colonial status quo were very much inspired by Garvey and other manifestations of the movement in New York. Caribbean activists such as De Marchena, De Kom, the Rijts brothers, and Huiswoud, recognizing the systemic oppression of Black people, worked to educate and empower their countrymen. The publications and preachings that they developed in the twenties were rooted in ideas first articulated by Harlem Renaissance thinkers and formed a bridge with the more successful activist movements of the 1960s and 1970s that led to substantial reforms in the Dutch Caribbean islands and the independence of Suriname in 1975.

Likewise, a new artistic consciousness emerged in the Caribbean after the work of these revolutionary thinkers became more widely distributed. Although painting and photography have historically been elitist forms, accessible only to a white upper class, during the interwar years a Black self-awareness developed in Suriname and the Dutch Caribbean, stimulated by the literary trends of the Harlem Renaissance.[25] The manifestation of visual representation in the Caribbean that emerged in the 1950s can be encapsulated in one iconic work of art called *Black Madonna (Madonna Pretu)*, by the artist and poet Charles Corsen (fig. 87). Corsen dressed his female subject in white, imagery rooted in the religious practice known as Santería, and adorned her with a crown, in the visual language of Afro-Caribbean culture. With her sorrowful face, the woman recalls Garvey's Black Madonna, who bears the suffering of all Black people. Representing "the inner cry of a rehabilitation of a neglected population," Corsen's painting portrays the soul of the Black Caribbean, revealing the persistent legacy of Garvey's writings while also marking a turning point as Caribbean artists began centering the Black experience.[26]

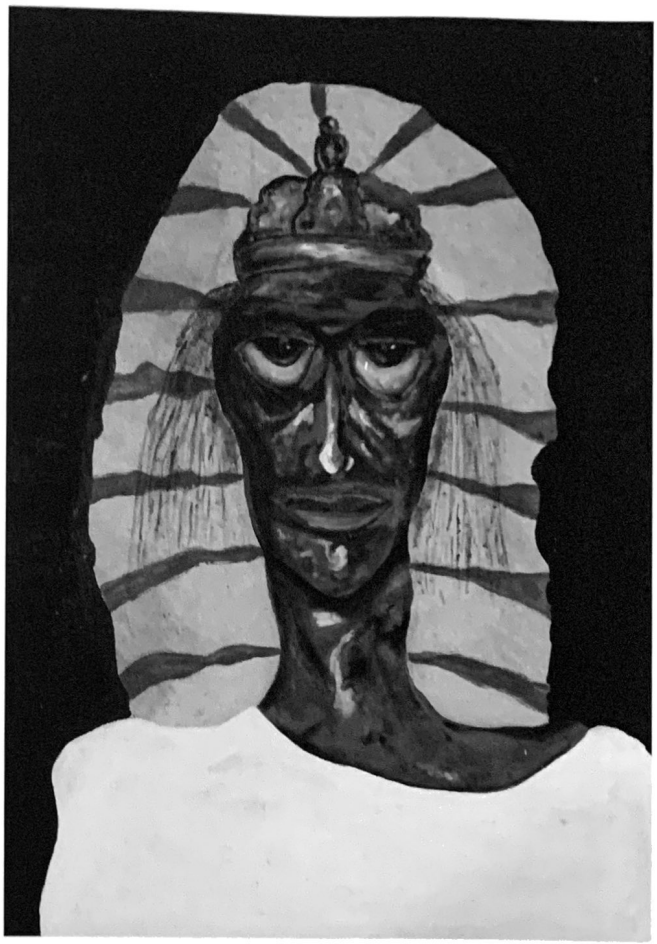


Fig.87. Charles Corsen, *Black Madonna*, ca. 1950

IMP. CRÉTÉ - PARIS

ARTISTS FROM THE ANTILLES IN INTERWAR PARIS

CHRISTELLE LOZÈRE

AFTER World War I, the idea of transforming the "old colonies" of Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana, and Réunion into departments (formal administrative divisions) of France found increasing favor among government authorities in Paris. Advocates of this process of assimilation, which would involve the progressive integration of the *vieilles colonies* into the heart of the French nation, set out to demonstrate, through images and texts, that three centuries of colonial rule had enabled progressive development and access to modernity.[1]

With the rise of the second French colonial empire—generally understood to have begun with the invasion of Algiers in 1830, and encompassing a territory that would eventually include holdings in Africa, Asia, and Oceania—Guadeloupe and Martinique resolved to replace the stereotypes of Black humanity as "savage" and "primitive," as shaped by the world of slavery and colonial rule, with a newly constructed image of the Caribbean islands as "civilized colonies" of the Third Republic, aspiring to education and meritocracy. The official image of native Antilleans as educated and elegant, possessed of a beauty deserving of artistic interest and sporting traditional dress (as opposed to nudity), became the symbol and promotional tool of an imperial propaganda campaign meant to persuade the French electorate that colonization was beneficial to them. Some of the painters, musicians, dancers, actors, educated men and women, and indigenous (as well as non-indigenous) Antilleans who traveled frequently between Paris and the Caribbean contributed to the elaboration of a Black creole culture fashioned by the elite.[2]

The interwar period was the pivotal moment in this spectacular upheaval, which saw the creation of a system of images, fabricated by the Radical Party (officially the Republican, Radical, and Radical-Socialist Party), which was then in power, to justify, through its ministers, some of the policies implemented by the empire. Over the last twenty years, the research of scholars such as Jean-Pierre Sainton and Dominique Chathuant has demonstrated the importance of key Black figures in French politics during the first half of the twentieth century—notably Gratien Candace, Alcide Delmont, Henry Lémery, Félix Éboué, and Gaston Monnerville—all of whom were socially adjacent to prominent artistic circles.[3] These leaders would prove essential to constructing the kind of visual program, which was post-slavery and republican in its messaging but also assimilationist in its agenda, that was showcased, for example, in the Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, in 1931, and the Tricentenaire festivals held from October 1935 to March 1936.

The visibility of Antillean subjects in these types of exhibitions, which proliferated between the wars, was substantially influenced by the appointment in 1925 of Henry Bérenger, senator for Guadaloupe and the French ambassador to the United States, as president of the Société Coloniale des Artistes Français (SCAF). At his instigation, the Prix de la Guadeloupe was established to enable residencies on the islands for European artists. Bérenger also appointed two women to the managing committee, which had previously been an exclusively male body: his friend Germaine Casse, of Antillean origin, and Suzanne Frémont. Gratien Candace, a deputy from Guadeloupe who joined the organization in about 1931, was likewise the first Black man to become a member of SCAF.

GERMAINE CASSE AS SEEN BY THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

In the first half of the twentieth century, eighteen painters from the Antilles were active in Paris—fifteen from Martinique and three from Guadeloupe—for a total of ten women and eight men (only five of whom, interestingly, are known to have produced work in the Antilles). Of particular interest is the singular story of Germaine Casse (fig. 89), who was born in Paris in 1881 to Germain Casse, a politician from Guadeloupe, and Julie John, a private tutor originally from Senegal.[4] (Her grandmother, Marie John, the daughter of a British officer and a West African woman, a member of the Peul people, was born about 1811 in Saint Louis.[5]) Casse seems to have spent her childhood in the Antilles from at least 1889, when her father arrived from mainland France to

Fig. 88. Germaine Casse, poster for the first salon organized by the Société des Artistes Antillais, January 1924

Fig. 89. François Antoine Vizzavona, *Germaine Casse at Home*, 1922

serve as governor of Martinique before being named, in 1890, paymaster general of Guadeloupe.

In May 1923, within the framework of a mission underwritten by SCAF, Casse inaugurated the first exhibition of modern art in Guadeloupe, and in 1924, in Pointe-à-Pitre, she established the Société des Artistes Antillais, whose aim was to introduce modern art into the two old colonies in the guise of compositions as ideological as they were allegorical. Her design for the exhibition poster is a veritable manifesto of Antillean art and, more specifically, a call for indigenous women to contribute to artistic production on the islands (fig. 88). It represents the future of the Société des Artistes Antillais as a modern Black woman, wearing shoes and a madras headdress, surrounded by the attributes of painting, sculpture, writing, and music. While the composition operates within the codes of assimilationist painting (the image of a Black woman wearing madras, warm colors, a landscape), it also disparages a society that for some three centuries had prevented the Black youth of Martinique and Guadeloupe from studying the fine arts. It is an invitation to those of Black and mixed-race heritage to organize an artistic "Renaissance" in the Antilles.

After returning to Paris in 1924, Casse exhibited 145 paintings she had made in Guadeloupe at the Salon d'Automne and then at the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs. Another exhibition of her work, sponsored by the Ministère des Colonies and mounted at the Galerie Georges Petit, included portraits, landscapes, genre scenes, and still lifes produced on the constituent islands of Guadeloupe, including Grande-Terre, Basse-Terre, Les Saintes, and La Désirade. *Édoualine: Portrait of a Young Girl*, illustrated in the catalogue, shows a young woman from Guadeloupe coiffed with a large madras foulard (fig. 90). Her slightly tilted head and somewhat averted torso lend dynamism to the composition. She seems pensive, almost anxious, despite her discreet smile, but her eyes nonetheless suggest tenderness. The handling is broad and spontaneous, as if executed on the fly, and the fact that the artist identified her model by specifying her first name suggests a certain familiarity with the subject, perhaps some personal history.[6] Similarly, in other works by Casse, such as *Portrait of Dorville Alidor, Municipal Counselor of Petit-Bourg* (fig. 91),[7] *The Veranda of the Madeleine*, and *Mimi*, we see the faces of Antillean men and women, deliberately named and humanized, who likely belonged to the artist's circle and were thus probably acquaintances, possibly friends of her own or of her family captured in an atmosphere of shared intimacy. The subject of another now-lost portrait, *Young Woman in Blue* (fig. 92), is notable for her unusual pose. Her identity is unknown, but, judging from her French-style dress, she could represent a mixed-race individual who, like much of the Guadeloupean elite, moved freely between France and the islands.

In 1928, a laudatory if somewhat florid article in the Baltimore newspaper *The Afro-American* emphasized the

"black blood" that ran in Germaine Casse's veins: "Being a mixture of creole blood, and Indian; of the volcano and the equator; there is always something revolutionary in her genius, even if the discipline of the Mediterranean and of France, have tempered later the first waves of lava."[8] This text appeared at a time when the visual representation of Black people was a subject of intense debate in the United States. In 1925, Alain Locke, the principal theorist of the Harlem Renaissance and promoter of the New Negro aesthetic, wrote in the journal *Opportunity* how the emergent support for Casse was an example of the new treatment being accorded representations of Black people.[9] He underscored "the gradual outgrowing of the casual interest, either of the exotic or the genre sort," realized by a number of European artists, including Casse, in "the development of a matured and sustained interest" in such depictions.[10]

The idea that there is a particular way that Black people should be painted was the subject of a 1926 article in the magazine *The Crisis*, which investigated how African American artists were seeking to jettison racial stereotypes and advance changing perceptions.[11] The hope that the arts, especially literature, could help end racism was one of the bedrock principles of the Harlem Renaissance movement.[12] Between 1924 and 1925, the very moment when Casse, newly returned to Paris from Guadeloupe, was enjoying a triumphal exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit, African American artists associated with the Harlem Renaissance, including Laura Wheeler Waring, who had studied at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris, and Malvin Gray Johnson were likewise producing portraits of Black women and men in which they humanized their sitters, often through the use of intense facial expressions and vibrant effects of color and light, to give them greater individuality.

A decade later, in 1937, Lois Mailou Jones, another African American artist associated with the Harlem Renaissance, came to Paris on a fellowship to study at the Académie Julian. She was welcomed to the city by Louis Achille, a brilliant professor of literature who was from Martinique and who helped the young artist get her bearings. Through him Jones met the sisters Jeanne and Paulette Nardal, Achilles's cousins and leaders of the Négritude movement, whose weekly salon brought together prominent Black intellectuals

Fig. 90. Germaine Casse, *Édoualine: Portrait of a Young Girl* (current whereabouts unknown)

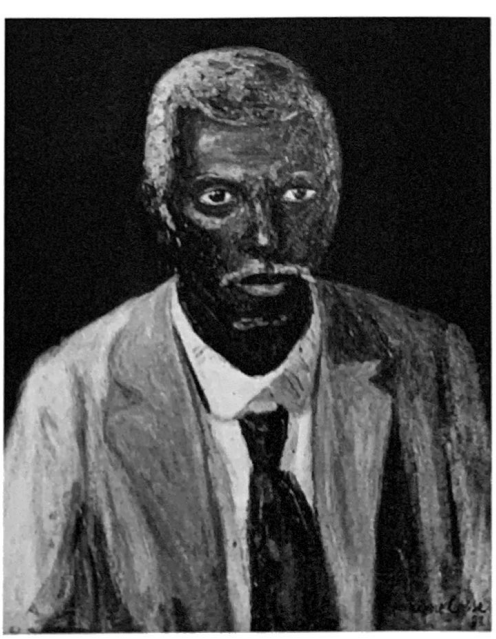


Fig. 91. Germaine Casse, ***Portrait of Dorville Alidor, Municipal Counselor of Petit-Bourg*** (current whereabouts unknown)

Fig. 92. Germaine Casse, *Young Woman in Blue* (current whereabouts unknown)

from France, Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States. Among the regular participants at these Sunday gatherings were the poet-politicians Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, and Léon-Gontran Damas, considered the "Three Fathers" of the Négritude movement.

According to art historian Catherine Bernard, the success of the expatriate American painter Henry Ossawa Tanner in France at the turn of the twentieth century had sparked hope and elation among other African American artists then living in Paris.[13] This image of France as a land of liberty had been strengthened by the election of the Senegalese Blaise Diagne and then Gratien Candace, of Guadeloupe, to the French Chamber of Deputies. Diagne's attempts to guarantee the political rights of the French colonies during World War I—supported by Candace and other members of the chamber who were of Caribbean heritage—and the establishment of the Association Panafricaine, in 1921, were all developments closely followed in the United States, and in Paris, as a result, attaining recognition as a Black artist now seemed possible. Although the assimilationist and colonialist discourse supported by Casse set her apart from the more militant stance adopted by some African American artists in this period, her name was later cited in seminal studies, such as the 1941 book *Sex and Race* by Joel Augustus Rogers, the Jamaican American historian of the African diaspora, as among those Black and mixed-race individuals who had left their mark on French history.[14]

If Casse seemed almost to personify Guadaloupe to Parisians during her sojourn in Paris, then the white artist Pierre Bodard could be said to have done the same for Martinique. This painter from Bordeaux, a winner of the Rome Prize, married the daughter of mixed-race parents in Fort-de-France before returning with his wife, known as "Mano," to Paris in 1920, where they settled into his studio in Montparnasse. The couple moved in some of the capital's most elite artistic circles, and both Mano, who taught piano, and her younger sister, Cécile, a cellist, were among the artist's favorite models.

ARTISTIC EXCHANGES AND NETWORKS OF SOLIDARITY: PARIS AS A SHOWCASE FOR ANTILLEAN ART?

As transatlantic travel increased during the interwar period, the circulation of artists to and from the Caribbean helped establish a network of exchange between Paris and the Antilles that brought increased attention to artists of Antillean origin active in the Parisian salons and galleries. In this spirit, the Société Martiniquaise des Amis des Arts was established in 1931 at 293 rue Vaugirard to celebrate the art of Martinique and to encourage Antillean artists active in Paris to participate in international and colonial expositions.

One of those artists was Paul-Amédée Bailly, whose father, Fernand Bailly, a painter from Martinique, had studied with Camille Corot and won gold medals at exhibitions in Marseille (1922) and Paris (1931) for his portrait of an elderly woman (probably his nurse).[15] Between December 4 and December 17, 1933, Paul-Amédée, newly arrived from Martinique, exhibited his work at the Galerie de la Fédération

des Artistes at 152 boulevard Haussmann and wrote in *La Chronique Coloniale*, the official organ of the Institut Colonial Français, that his primary aim was "to foster familiarity with and affection for this French territory of Martinique, so beautiful and welcoming." Through his landscapes, he continued, he sought to evoke "the mildness of its skies and the infinite array of its greens," while in his portraits he explained that he had not "sought aesthetic models in a land where, to be sure, beautiful models are not lacking" but had instead "set out to depict subjects that are more human, people such as one encounters in the street."[16] Wanting to represent the humanity and diversity of the Antillean people, the young artist, like Casse, attached names to his portraits, all of which depict individuals affiliated with his circle, such as *Saïpon, A Mixed-Race Chinese, Sylvanaise and Sonson,* and *Lydie, A Young Indian Woman.*

In 1938 Paris also recognized the young Martinican sculptor Marie-Thérèse Lung-Fou, a student at the École des Beaux-Arts who was born in Fort-de-France in 1909 of Chinese, Afro-Caribbean, and European descent. Among her many prizes and awards was a bronze medal at the Salon that year for the Art Deco sculpture *The Offering* (1938). Later president of the Salon des Réalités Martiniquaises (1952–59) and a founder of the revue *Dialogue* (1955), she would provide vigorous leadership of the Groupement des Artistes Martiniquais and write a manifesto for the "Black World" advocating equality and cultural exchange among all peoples.[17]

Even if Paris offered a degree of visibility to native Antillean and other artists active on the islands, throughout the interwar period their work was viewed almost exclusively through an imperial lens. This perspective was reinforced by the types of venues, such as colonial museums, exhibitions, salons, and galleries, that shaped the public and critical reception of their art. The various colonial expositions, for example, presented works from Guadeloupe and Martinique in isolation, reinforcing the concept that the artists who made them were on the margins of art history and completely outside the networks of the Parisian avant-garde. They were thus designated as makers of "indigenous colonial art," a categorization that would define them for the duration of these colonial exhibitions and continued to do so long afterward.

Casse, it should be noted, did not know how to integrate herself into the discourse on Négritude then advanced by the young antiassimilationists and anticolonialists. She was not of the same generation, and because she was an assimilationist, and a woman, her paintings were rejected by some and characterized by others as *doudouiste*—a pejorative slang term for being too appeasing or comfortable for whites—and dismissed for what was perceived as a non-Antillais exoticism. This assessment from within the younger Black French artistic cohort is comparable to the way in which Locke and others had dismissed Tanner. Even though Locke admired Casse on some level, his was probably a superficial, outsider's view based on her success, and she was certainly seen by at least some younger Caribbean artists as being nowhere near sufficiently radical. Like many women artists of the period, she was subsequently erased from the history of art, as written by men, and died, almost forgotten, in abject poverty.

ARTISTS FOR VICTORY AND THE WPA AT THE MET: CATALYTIC ACQUISITIONS OF WORK BY AFRICAN AMERICAN ARTISTS IN THE EARLY 1940S

LOWERY STOKES SIMS

IN 2003, the exhibition *African-American Artists, 1929–1945* at The Met celebrated a recent gift to the Museum by Reba and Dave Williams of 204 prints by artists ranging from Lois Mailou Jones to Kara Walker. Director Philippe de Montebello lauded the project for expanding the representation of African American artists in the Museum's collection amid a "reevaluation of the contributions made by African Americans to the history of American art" that was beginning to take place across the art world. He further noted that the exhibition focused on "contributions specifically during the years 1929–1945, in terms of new subject matter and technical advances."[1]

The advances evident in many of the works in the exhibition were supported and sustained by the various workshops of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), one of the influential programs of the New Deal established by the Roosevelt Administration in 1935 to provide employment during the Great Depression.[2] While the WPA buttressed the careers of African American artists such as Raymond Steth and Dox Thrash—known for their innovations in printmaking, particularly as the inventors of the Carborundum process—it also helped validate the careers of younger artists such as Jacob Lawrence. Organizations like the Harlem Community Art Center in New York, the Fine Print Workshop in Philadelphia, Karamu House in Cleveland, and the South Side Community Center in Chicago all became centers of that artistic ferment. In addition, artists Charles Alston and Sargent Johnson (fig. 94) achieved professional prominence as the first African American regional supervisors in the New York and San Francisco programs, respectively; the less well-known watercolorist Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr., was likewise a regional supervisor in Philadelphia (fig. 93).

In this way the WPA programs provided opportunities for African American artists to gain a sense of professionalism and to glimpse the possibility of pursuing the arts as a full-time vocation. This complemented the support afforded these artists during the Harlem Renaissance through, for example, fellowships, travel grants, and exhibitions awarded by the Harmon Foundation and the Rosenwald Foundation (see the essay by Bridget Cooks in this volume). The focus of this essay is not, however, the compelling story of African American artists and the WPA, although aspects of that history are germane to this discussion, but rather how the WPA was the vehicle through which works by African American artists first entered the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in the early 1940s.[3] This moment in the Museum's history is especially noteworthy as we examine and interrogate The Met's long-term institutional support for African American artists and stewardship of the work.

The initial acquisition of works by African American artists for The Met collection took place in conjunction with *Artists for Victory*, a competitive juried exhibition organized at the Museum in 1942 by a coalition of artistic societies to affirm the support of American artists during World War II. As noted in the catalogue foreword by director Francis Henry Taylor, the Museum's participation in *Artists for Victory* was intended "to proclaim its faith in the American artist during one of the most critical years in our history. We believed that the facilities of the Museum should be turned over to the artists to organize an exhibition as they themselves would want it done."[4]

In terms of logistics, the Museum covered the installation costs and provided $52,000 to purchase prize-winning works, which would then enter the Museum's collection. Inclusion in the exhibition was determined by juries of artists appointed by a council of the participating organizations known as Artists for Victory, Inc. Out of 14,000 submissions, 1,418 were accepted for exhibition and as candidates for purchase prizes.[5] The awards jury, which had purview over all media—paintings, sculpture, and prints—included A. Hyatt Mayor, curator of prints at The Met from 1946 to 1966; Alfred H. Barr, Jr., founding director of the Museum of Modern Art and an influential proponent of modern art in the United States; and Juliana Force, director of the Whitney Museum

Fig. 93. Detail of Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr., *Girl in Blue Dress*, 1936 (plate 40)

Fig. 94. Sargent Claude Johnson, *Lenox Avenue*, 1938

of American Art, which at the time was exploring a possible merger with The Met. An article on the exhibition in the *New York Times* reported that it was "among the largest displays of contemporary American art ever held [at the Museum]" and was intended to "represent the gamut of American art today, from conservative to radical." After mentioning the top prizes, the article notes, almost parenthetically, "Two prizes went to Negroes."[6] Jacob Lawrence's watercolor *Pool Parlor* (fig. 95) was awarded a sixth prize of $500 in the painting category, and Richmond Barthé's sculpture *Boxer* (plate 61) was given the same award for sculpture; both then entered the Museum's collection.

A year later, in 1943, the Museum acquired additional works by African American artists as regional sections of the WPA wound down their activities and dispersed their holdings. As Lisa Mintz Messinger wrote in the catalogue for *African-American Artists, 1920–1945*,

> When the New Deal programs terminated—in the midst of the war—hundreds of thousands of works of art that had been produced had to be dispersed in a matter of months . . . [but] only a relatively small percentage of the over 360,000 works of art produced for the WPA were ever deposited in museum collections.[7]

The Met, Messinger continued, acquired a total of 1,960 works from various WPA projects, a cache that by her count included sixteen works in a variety of media by five African American artists: Charles Henry Alston, Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr., Raymond Steth, Dox Thrash, and Jacob Lawrence.[8] "Compared

Fig. 95. Detail of Jacob Lawrence, *Pool Parlor*, 1942 (plate 11)

with white artists," Messinger confirms, this percentage reflects the fact that "African Americans were significantly underrepresented in the WPA in relation to their total numbers in the general population."[9]

This writer became fascinated with both the *Artists for Victory* exhibition and the WPA donation in the mid-1970s, when, as a fledgling curator in what was then The Met's Department of Twentieth-Century Art, I researched the status of African American artists in the Museum's collection. What emerged from that investigation was that, in addition to works of art, the WPA also provided funds for infrastructural repairs and embellishments at The Met.[10] The Museum also hosted a 1937 exhibition of art created in forty-three WPA adult education programs.[11] Writing about the Museum and the WPA on the Museum's website in 2020, Allison Rudnick, associate curator in the Department of Drawings and Prints, and James Moske, managing archivist in the Museum Archives, offered more details:

> Several dozen WPA staff served at The Met from 1934 to 1942. They prepared maps and charts on art historical themes for classroom and gallery instruction, photographed and illustrated Museum objects for use in publications, guarded Museum objects, presented lectures, installed exhibitions, and conserved the Museum's cast collection.[12]

By accepting these prints from the WPA, the Museum, according to Messinger, effectively saved this art from being "abandoned in storage depots where it [would have been] neglected for decades and essentially lost or destroyed."[13] Indeed, in the late 1980s the artist and scholar Leslie King-Hammond found herself doing extensive "archaeology" in libraries and the forgotten recesses of museum storage in order to locate and unearth some of these works for an exhibition on prints by African American artists that she organized for the Lehman College Art Gallery.[14] The Met's cache of WPA material, meanwhile, was an important resource for exhibitions of selected works by African American artists in the Museum's collection that I had organized in previous years for the Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation (1976) and the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation (1979).

New investigations on the artists represented in the WPA gift by Tiarra Brown, research associate in The Met's Department of Modern and Contemporary Art, has revealed that the original donation actually contained thirty-five works by twelve artists, including, in addition to those named above, Sargent Johnson, Claude Clark, Charles Sallee, Jr., Hughie Lee-Smith, Ralph Alexander Chessé, Richard William Lindsey, and Bryant Pringle. The majority of these came from the WPA's Pennsylvania sector, even though New York was the larger city and could boast more resident working artists, underscoring the fact that Philadelphia's Graphic Arts Division was, according to King-Hammond, "the only one of the WPA's community centers to be specifically designated a fine-print workshop."[15] As Francis V. O'Connor, the premier chronicler of the WPA, has observed, that division was "most noted for its many technical innovations—especially its perfection of color lithography and the serigraph (silkscreen)... and the invention of the carborundum etching."[16] Works from other distribution points in Chicago and Cleveland helped broaden the geographic range of the cache to represent San Francisco (Johnson and Chessé), Cleveland (Lee-Smith and Sallee), and North Carolina (Lindsey).

What is glaringly evident from this roster is the absence of women. This may stem from the rather hasty and unsystematic distribution of works by the WPA,[17] but it might also reflect the fact that the medium of printmaking was dominated by men at that time. The participation in and contributions by African American women printmakers to the WPA was chronicled in the 1993 exhibition *Alone in a Crowd: Prints of the 1930s–1940s by African-American Artists*, which was organized from the Williams collection and included prints by a number of women whose works were represented in the gift to The Met six years later, among them Hilda Brown, an artist based in Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth Catlett, a sculptor also known for her prodigious print production; Louise Jefferson, an instructor at the Harlem Community Art Center (fig. 96); the venerable painter and Howard University academic luminary Lois Mailou Jones; Samella Lewis, a painter and prominent chronicler of African American art; and the muralist Georgette Seabrooke Powell.[18]

Before we end this short chronicle, it bears considering some of the social dynamics that would have determined

Fig. 96. Louise E. Jefferson, *Nightclub Singer*, ca. 1938

how African American artists were (or were not) able to access opportunities available to them in the art world at this moment, given the racial and social mores of the epoch and acknowledging the reality that the circle of patrons for African American artists was extremely small. While some twenty-five organizations cosponsored *Artists for Victory*, for example, which was broadly open to "living artists [who are] citizens of the United States of America,"[19] a perusal of the catalogue reveals few names from the history of African American art prior to the 1950s. In addition to Lawrence and Barthé, we find only Riva Helfond (a white woman who was an influential instructor at the Harlem Community Art Center)[20] and Norman Lewis; and this was in the print category, which included the largest number of artists.

How some of these artists would have entered the competition and come to be considered by the selection juries is another question that warrants further investigation. Helfond and Lewis would certainly have had contacts in the art world through their work as instructors and coordinators for the WPA.[21] (Helfond's print work first came into The Met collection in 1943 as part of the overall WPA donation, and a WPA-era print by Lewis was part of the 1999 Reba and Dave Williams gift.) The participation of Lawrence and Barthé, on the other hand, is no doubt a result of the networks they were able to establish to promote their careers. After Barthé received a Julius Rosenwald fellowship in 1930, he moved from Harlem to Greenwich Village because, as Samella Lewis wrote, he realized the location was "much more convenient for my

Fig. 97. Dox Thrash, *The Welder*, ca. 1936–41

contacts from whom it is possible for me to make a living."[22] By the time of *Artists for Victory*, Barthé had already been the subject of a one-artist exhibition at the Caz-Delbo Gallery in Rockefeller Center and had also shown in the Whitney Annual exhibition. His sculpture *Blackberry Woman* (1930) had been acquired by Juliana Force for the Whitney Museum in 1932, moreover, and the following year the Whitney added his *African Dancer* to its collection.[23] As of 1941, Lawrence, an alumnus of the Harlem Community Art Center, had joined the roster of Edith Halpert's Downtown Gallery in Greenwich Village, which also included Stuart Davis, an avuncular presence in the art world and a fellow participant in *Artists for Victory*. By that time Lawrence had already exhibited two of his signature historical series of paintings: *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture*, at the Baltimore Museum of Art (1938), and his 1940–41 *Migration Series*, at the Downtown Gallery.

While African American WPA artists worked in a variety of media, as described above, printmaking, according to King-Hammond, was a medium made available to them, economically and logistically, through the WPA workshops. They could experiment with and excel at the medium, and also, according to King-Hammond "have contact with White artists, which under other circumstances would not have occurred."[24] The "new subject matter" these artists introduced through printmaking celebrated the breadth of the African American experience and provided commentary on the social,

political, and economic circumstances of the African American population in the period between the World Wars.[25]

Dox Thrash, who helped invent the Carborundum printing process, used that medium—in which the metal plate is roughed with a carbon-based stone and then burnished—"to create an image that is sculptural and tonal rather than linear."[26] This achievement brought him "national acclaim as a master technician and virtuoso printmaker," but that recognition did not translate into sustained professional acknowledgment in the arts.[27] That eleven prints by Steth and four by Thrash entered The Met certainly can be said, however, to have introduced examples of cutting-edge printmaking technology into the collection (fig. 97).

These purchase prizes and the gift of prints from the WPA occurred at a pivotal moment in the history of The Met in terms of its engagement with contemporary art. The press release for the 1943 exhibition of 129 prints from the WPA cache characterized them as constituting "a gift of unique importance" that would "[make] available to the public a cross-section of contemporary graphic art in this country."[28] This enthusiasm reflected Francis Henry Taylor's ambitions to expand the Museum structurally and programmatically,[29] but it belied the collapse of extensive negotiations with representatives of the estate of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (including *Artists for Victory* award juror Juliana Force) over a possible merger with the Whitney Museum of American Art, which would go on to reestablish its own institutional identity and priorities with regard to contemporary art.[30] The Met then came under fire in 1947 when a group of artists associated with the burgeoning New York School, dubbed "The Irascibles," challenged what they perceived as the Museum's lack of commitment to the art of its time,[31] which in 1948 prompted The Met to establish a curatorial department dedicated to contemporary American art, headed by artist Robert Beverly Hale, who taught at the Art Students League.[32]

From the 1950s through the 1970s, as the art world began to consider more proactively the situation of African American artists in the wake of the civil rights movement and the assertion of Black power, there were periodic acquisitions of the work of African American artists in all media by the Museum. Since then, African American representation in the collection and the number of exhibitions that have featured African American artists have both increased steadily, bolstered by the expertise of the curatorial staff and the commitment of The Met administration. Over the ensuing decades, the WPA donation has continued to inspire new projects at The Met, such as *W.P.A. Color Prints: Images from the Federal Art Project* (1996), organized by Elliot Davis,[33] and *Life Impressions: 20th-Century African American Prints from The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (2001), organized by Dewey Mosby, then director of the Picker Art Gallery at Colgate University.[34] As this recognition of African American creativity progresses, it is important to remember the catalytic events of the early 1940s through which the first representations of the work of African American artists, emerging from the halcyon years of the Harlem Renaissance, were placed into the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE IN EXHIBITION

BRIDGET R. COOKS

THE Harlem Renaissance, also known as the New Negro movement, has long been revered as a watershed moment for African American creativity, when artists engaged with philosophical, social, and historical issues in the hopes of ushering in a progressive era that would offer new opportunities for, and perceptions of, Black people. In this innovative age for the visual, literary, and performing arts, Black artists sought to create places to commune with one another, cultivate their skills, and exhibit their work to a curious public. The Harmon Foundation, established in 1922 by William E. Harmon, a white New York real estate developer, played an important role in promoting the visibility of art made by Black people through its exhibition program for "American Negro artists" from 1928 to 1933. In the decades since the Harmon exhibitions ended, however, survey shows of Harlem Renaissance art have been scarce. In fact, art from this rich period in American history has been the subject of only three museum surveys: *Harlem Renaissance: Art of Black America* (1987), *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance* (1997), and *I Too Sing America: The Harlem Renaissance at 100* (2018).[1] Each of these exhibitions employed a different framework to understand art from the period and connect the legendary movement to contemporary concerns.

Although the Harlem Renaissance stands today as a touchstone in African American art history, it has largely been ignored by most mainstream art museums. In two infamous examples, the Harlem Renaissance was omitted from the exhibitions *The 1930s: Painting and Sculpture in America* (1968) at the Whitney Museum of American Art and *Harlem on My Mind: Cultural Capital of Black America, 1900–1968* (1969) at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Both, moreover, excluded visual art from Black artists and dismissed the relevance of the Harlem Renaissance to American art history. This disregard engendered activism by African American artists and their allies through the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition, a group formed in 1969 to hold museums accountable to Black communities demanding representation on gallery walls and on curatorial staffs.[2]

Given this long institutional silence, it is no surprise that the Studio Museum in Harlem was the first to take the lead in making the art of the Harlem Renaissance visible to a broader audience, as it did through the 1987 exhibition *Harlem Renaissance: Art of Black America*. Organized by the museum's director at the time, Mary Schmidt Campbell, and the artist/scholar David C. Driskell, the show insisted on the inclusion of the Harlem Renaissance in accounts of American art history and reminded viewers of the long tradition of racially segregated exhibitions and art histories. Presenting nearly two hundred works, including painting, sculpture, and photography, to new generations of visitors, *Harlem Renaissance* focused primarily on five artists: the sculptor Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, the painters Aaron Douglas, Palmer Hayden, and William H. Johnson, and the photographer James Van Der Zee. Key works such as Fuller's *In Memory of Mary Turner as a Silent Protest Against Mob Violence* (fig. 99) manifested Black struggles against racist violence such as lynching as an inherent part of American history while also demonstrating the contributions of Black artists to the development of modernism in the early twentieth century. The show included Douglas's four-part mural series *Aspects of Negro Life* (plate 52), a stylized narrative of African American history from its origins in the motherland through enslavement and Reconstruction and into the modern age of polluting factories, mechanized labor, and jazz. Hayden's controversial *The Janitor Who Paints* (plate 45) revealed the artist's self-awareness of how Negro artists were perceived by the mainstream art world, if they were seen at all. Beneath the depiction of an artist engaged in the act of portraying a mother and child is an earlier version in which both the artist and the models have phenotypical features common in anti-Black caricatures. Accoutrements in the room that signify demeaning interpretations of African Americans were likewise "corrected" in the final work. The two versions of *The Janitor Who Paints* indicate some of the performative aspects

Fig. 98. Detail of William H. Johnson, *Man in a Vest*, 1939–40 (plate 33)

of life for modern Black artists in response to the expectations of white patrons.[3] The paintings by Johnson, meanwhile, showcased the range of the artist's stylistic approaches, from the traditional nineteenth-century techniques in *Still Life* (1921–26) to the flat, simplified forms of *Jesus and the Three Marys* (1939). Van Der Zee's extensive oeuvre was represented by portraits of Harlem residents, documentary photographs of community events, and imaginative group genre scenes. As Campbell noted in her introductory essay to the catalogue:

> The exhibition is ambitious. In providing a forum for the works, it seeks to restore some critical balance to the reputations of the Harlem Renaissance artists and to consider the urgent issues of cultural identity and social and political tensions so often implicit in their images. These tensions, which percolated beneath the carefree surface of the Jazz Age, were evident in the very manner in which the Harlem Renaissance artists were patronized, exhibited, and presented to the American public. What this exhibition makes painfully evident is that the Harlem Renaissance artists were the victims of a segregated culture, a culture that separated its artists as emphatically as it segregated its public schools.[4]

The show was a boon in many other ways. It helped secure funding from the National Endowment for the Arts for the critical conservation of works such as Douglas's *Aspects of Negro Life*, and it created an opportunity to connect with family members and collectors of Harlem Renaissance artists such as Fuller and William H. Johnson (fig. 98), who made their collections available to the museum for exhibition and for future preservation. Some visitors were also able to identify themselves or their relatives in the Van Der Zee photographs, further enriching the significance of the show and our knowledge of the photographer's archive. And while previous exhibition catalogues from the Studio Museum in Harlem had been self-published, the publication that accompanied *Harlem Renaissance*—which included contributions from eminent scholars such as David Levering Lewis, Richard J. Powell, Jeffrey Stewart, and Deborah Willis—was produced by Harry N. Abrams, making it the first hardback book for the museum brought out by a major art press and distributor.

Responses to the exhibition ranged from expressions of general interest to critical befuddlement. Some visitors, for example, told Kinshasha Holman Conwill, then deputy director of the Studio Museum, that they did not know Black artists made the kind of art represented in *Harlem Renaissance*.[5] *New York Times* reviewer John Russell testified to the aura Harlem held in the 1920s and 30s for young white Europeans, like himself, who had not heard the term "Harlem Renaissance" but imagined that every Black woman could be another Josephine Baker or Florence Mills and every Black man a Louis Armstrong or Langston Hughes. Russell also acknowledged the popularity of Carl Van Vechten's novel *Nigger Heaven*, which he confessed "was a favorite Christmas request with all of us from 1926 onward." (Van Vechten's fantasy of darkness and its provocative title were both highly controversial among Black readers, many of whom denounced it at the time as neo-Primitivist racism.) The art in *Harlem Renaissance*, which Russell notes was previously unknown to him, held a "special fascination" and, in his opinion, rivaled the examples of creative output in music, dance, and literature with which he was already familiar: "Of black art, we knew nothing at all, and it would have surprised us very much to know that Aaron Douglas's 'Emperor Jones' series of woodcuts was as arresting as almost any performance of that formidable play." Russell argued further that he believed New Yorkers were likely as unfamiliar with this body of work as Europeans.[6]

Another *Times* critic, Michael Kimmelman, reviewed *Harlem Renaissance* in the context of its installation at the High Museum of Art, Atlanta, in 1988, in conjunction with the inaugural National Black Arts Festival, which had been founded in the city the previous year. Renewing the kinds of questions about what constitutes "Black art" that had been raised in a series of *Times* articles in the 1970s, Kimmelman—who makes no reference to the earlier discourse in the *Times* in

Fig. 99. Detail of Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, *In Memory of Mary Turner as a Silent Protest Against Mob Violence*, 1919 (plate 130)

his review and quite possibly was unaware of it—expressed frustration about not knowing what makes work by Black artists distinctive. "What, if anything," he asked, "distinguishes black painting or sculpture from any other kind of art? In exhibitions that encompass the period stretching back to the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920's, the First National Black Arts Festival has assembled a diversity of objects implicitly intended to address this elusive issue."[7] But neither the *Harlem Renaissance* exhibition nor the National Black Arts Festival suggested that they sought either to ask or answer the question that frames Kimmelman's article. If Kimmelman could not find a legible Black "difference," perhaps he could have wondered why art from the Harlem Renaissance has been omitted from major exhibitions, and what steps could be taken to bring these works into American art museums. Kimmelman ended his essay on a dissatisfied note, stating, "Ultimately, the unresolved and perhaps unresolvable contradiction of the Black Arts Festival is, obviously, that it segregates the very artists it attempts to help move into the cultural mainstream—artists whose works may have been unfairly ignored.... It remains the task of the festival in future years to find a way around this particular dilemma." Yet the burden to answer the question belongs to the critic, and the works on display in the exhibition, as well as the larger festival itself, were created as affirmations, not problems to be solved. Indeed, reviews of the exhibition in the Black press greeted the exhibition with pride, not frustration.[8]

In 1997, a decade after *Harlem Renaissance*, Richard J. Powell, then associate professor and chair of the Department of Art and Art History at Duke University, and David A. Bailey, co-director of the African and Asian Artists Archive, University of East London, curated *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance*. Collaboratively organized by the Hayward Gallery, London, the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and the Institute of International Visual Arts, London, *Rhapsodies*, which comprised about 150 works, debuted in London and was the first exhibition in Europe to feature the art of the Harlem Renaissance (it later toured Britain and the United States). The exhibition included works such as photographs taken in rural South Carolina by white photographer Doris Ullman and sculptures by Jamaican artists Edna Manley and Ronald C. Moody, expanding the movement's conceptual and geographic boundaries. In doing so, *Rhapsodies* redefined the Harlem Renaissance as an esprit de corps rather than a location, positing that the New Negro movement helped give rise to an art of Black nationalism in the Americas and the Caribbean.

Along with art objects, the exhibition included a small theater, showing current and historical film clips, as well as a listening room, which featured twelve discs of jazz from 1914 to 1939 compiled by historian Paul Oliver, a noted authority on blues and gospel music. *Rhapsodies* exhibited some of the same works displayed in *Harlem Renaissance*, notably three paintings from Douglas's *Aspects of Negro Life*, which were shown in tandem with his *Into Bondage* and *Aspiration* (plate 54), both from 1936. As articulated in the introduction to the catalogue, Powell had three main ideas to express that would distinguish *Rhapsodies* from previous exhibitions, namely, that the Harlem Renaissance was a cultural moment that extended beyond Harlem to an international African diaspora; that an exhibition on the movement should explore a wider variety of art forms, including dance, film, music, and works on paper; and that any such an exhibition should also include work by white artists, such as Ullman, Van Vechten, and the German émigré Winold Reiss.[9]

Unlike with *Harlem Renaissance*, reviewers of *Rhapsodies* from the mainstream press expressed pleasure at seeing works that were already known to them. "Familiarity does not breed contempt," wrote Patricia C. Johnson of the *Houston Chronicle*, and "more often it leads to better understanding."[10] Some members of the British press also responded favorably to the exhibition, but they took the opportunity to celebrate white British authors from the period who had expressed fascination with Blackness, such as Ronald Firbank, author of the novel *Prancing Nigger* (1925), which was illustrated by Van Vechten, and Nancy Cunard, editor of the anthology *Negro*, which published poems by more than one hundred Black and white authors alongside "supposed sociological perspectives."[11] Other British critics reported that the art shown was not of great importance in and of itself but was enlivened by the overall élan of the 1920s; another published half-baked musings about the art being amateur and "primitive" and judged the works by determining which Black artists were more "white" than others.[12]

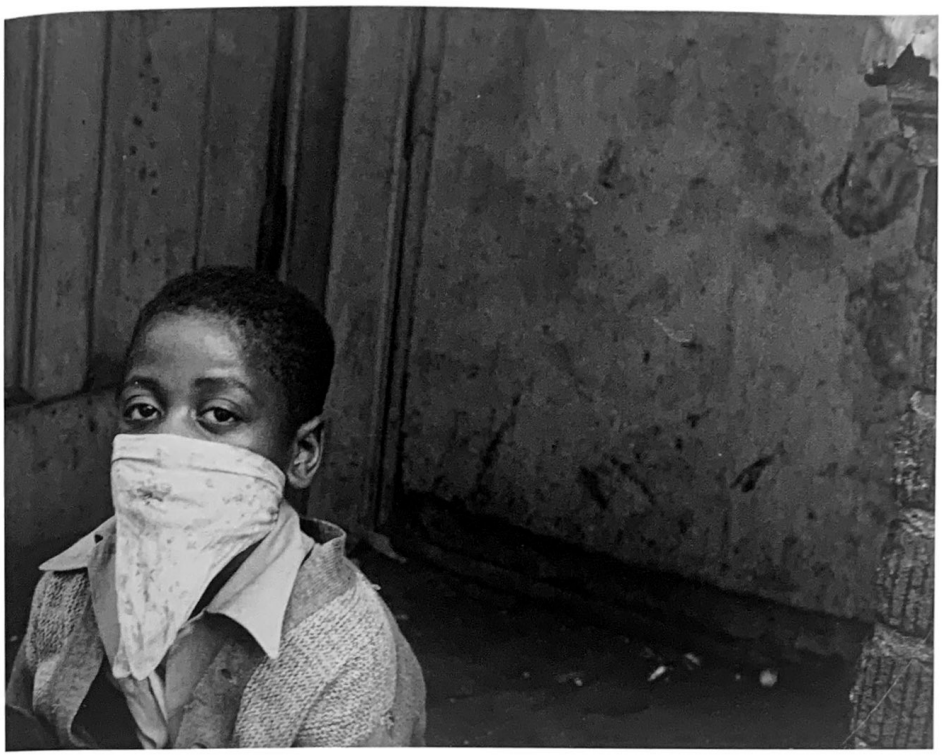
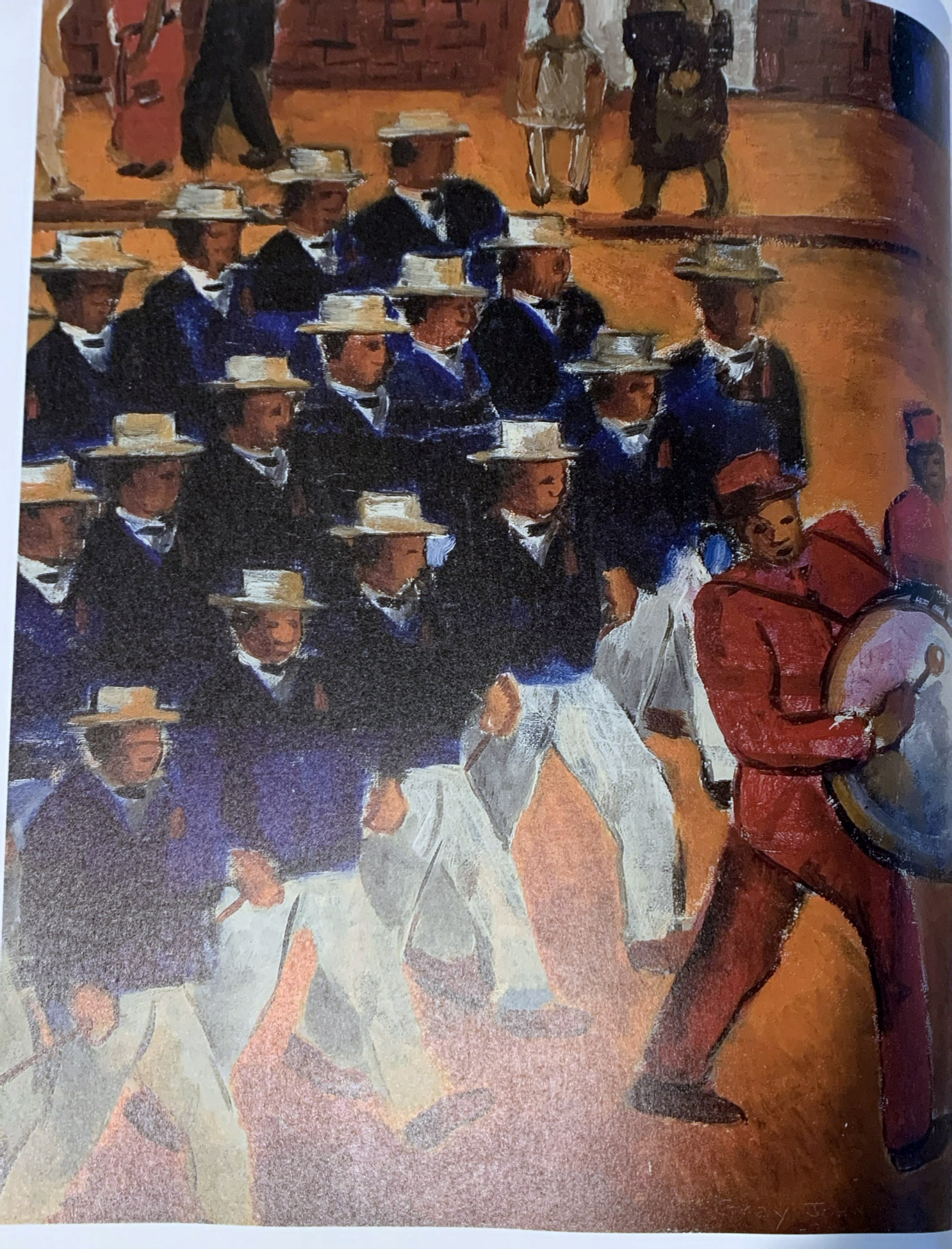


Fig. 100. Sonia Handelman Meyer, *Boy in Mask, Harlem*, 1945

In 2018, writer Wil Haygood curated *I Too Sing America: The Harlem Renaissance at 100* at the Columbus Museum of Art, Ohio. Incorporating more than one hundred works of art and related ephemera, the exhibition continued to shift the conceptual framing of the Harlem Renaissance from an era of florescence primarily in the visual arts to a broader, multidisciplinary cultural moment. Although the show presented paintings, sculptures, and photographs, they were contextualized more as illustrations of a movement fueled by the Great Migration. Further, *I Too Sing America* traced the influence of the Harlem Renaissance on artists active decades later, and it included the work of more white American artists than any previous Harlem Renaissance exhibition, such as the photographers Morris Huberland, Jack Manning, Sonia Handelman Meyer, and Aaron Siskind, who were represented through their socially concerned images of Harlem in the 1930s and 40s (fig. 100). *I Too* advanced the international scope of *Rhapsodies*, exploring the Harlem Renaissance "as a movement not confined to either upper Manhattan or the interwar period, but as a historical moment of national and international significance that continues to have reverberations far beyond its typically noted end date in the mid-1930s."[13] Nearly a generation after *Rhapsodies*, it also introduced many younger viewers to the Harlem Renaissance.[14] Writing for the *Washington Post*, Sebastian Smee discussed the history of the movement and argued that the exhibition mattered because Black culture mattered: "It was as important then as it remains today."[15] Indeed, the exhibition, notably, was launched as a campaign "to unify the greater Columbus community through the history, heritage and global influence of the Harlem Renaissance."[16]

These foundational exhibitions provide historical context for the present one as an attempt to adjust our understanding of the role of African Americans in the creation of modernism on both sides of the Atlantic. Looking strategically at William H. Johnson's landscape *Vieille Maison at Porte* alongside Chaim Soutine's *View of Cagnes* (ca. 1924–25), for example (plates 79, 80)—paintings by two artists working in roughly the same style and at the same moment—expands our expectations for, and definitions of, the art of the Harlem Renaissance by putting Black artists who worked abroad in conversation with other artists active around them. The exhibition also allows visitors to appreciate the depth of artists such as Laura Wheeler Waring and Malvin Gray Johnson, part of a broadly revised historical view that will prompt visitors and scholars alike to reconsider their understandings of modernism as it developed in the first half of the twentieth century.



A POLITICAL PAGEANT: THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE ON PARADE

CLAIRE TANCONS

HOW TO move the history of the Harlem Renaissance beyond the hagiographic accounts of its literati luminaries, celebrity performers, and lost stars? How to bring motion back into the era, in the first half of the twentieth century, when Harlem blossomed into a laboratory for the Black vanguard? What if we were to understand the meaning of the metaphor of Harlem as the "Mecca of the New Negro," referring specifically to the period from the 1920s to the 1940s onward, as, indeed, one of pilgrimage?[1] If so, we might begin to take into account the nameless numbers, the incommensurable masses, who began their journey with a long one-way processional, settling into varied formations as parts of fraternities and sororities suited to their occupations, and, with a sense of merriment or aggrievement, marched for social justice and paraded their political activism until flying away, at last, with or without a jazz fanfare.

That processional movement is the embodied landscape of the Harlem Renaissance, and the Great Migration was the foundation to all the processions that would follow in Harlem, where Jacob Lawrence's famous painted cycle gave it representational valence. Yet it remains something of a mystery why no account of Harlem Renaissance–era processional culture, great though it visibly was, has warranted a more detailed study of this social phenomenon along with its associated artistic representations. Indeed, the history of Harlem's public ceremonial culture—its rich processional traditions and love of parades—remains largely untold. While a full reckoning remains outside the scope of this essay, by focusing on a few iconic events and artists—and a medium put in the service of art and history under another name and in another form: procession—we can perhaps begin to appreciate the historical context of this topic and the many reasons why, even today, Black Americans keep marching, reveling, and fighting for justice, and why the period known as the Harlem Renaissance was a crucible for shaping these intrinsically protean expressions of survival, struggle, and exultation.

Fig. 101. Detail of Malvin Gray Johnson, *Elks Marching*, 1934 (plate 17)

RUNNING THE NUMBERS

> No mathematical equation exists to produce the economic model that ends with 18-year-old Michael Brown, shot multiple times with his hands in the air, his lifeless body left in the street for four hours. The numbers will inevitably be run, however, to determine the cumulative cost of damages owed to owners of property looted or destroyed in the riots engulfing Ferguson, Mo., after Brown's death, thus fulfilling a ritual cycle enacted repeatedly over the last 100 years: injustice, outrage, appeals to peace, reprimands against violence and looting and then insurance claims.
>
> **Sharifa Rhodes-Pitts, "The Worth of Black Men, From Slavery to Ferguson"[2]**

> They left the South in great numbers. They arrived in the North in great numbers.
>
> **Jacob Lawrence, caption for panel 35 of *The Migration Series***

> Whats de numbah?
> What's th' number?
>
> **E. Simms Campbell, "A Night-Club Map of Harlem"[3]**

Exact numbers can never be known. No one will ever know the exact number of Africans lost to the Middle Passage, and no one will ever know the exact number of African Americans lost to, and saved by, the Great Migration. Even though every arithmetic attempt has been made to know them, the more attempts that are made, the more factors outside mathematics interfere in order to thwart the effort of this numbering and to numb the impact of the numbers. We do know, however, that numbers matter, because when only one is missing, all are lost. Numbers are a matter of life and death, whether

Fig. 102. Jacob Lawrence, *From every southern town migrants left by the hundreds to travel north*, panel 3 from *The Migration Series*, 1940–41

they are needed to maintain the survival rate, rev up the parade, or win the lottery. Increases or decreases in these numbers—that is to say, in their representational shape—are no more linear or predictable than was the transformation of lines of migrants, during what came to be known as the Great Migration, into lines of participants in the many subsequent processions for mourning, protesting, celebrating, reveling—or simply *re-pre-sent-ing*, often in combinations thereof—that took place in the neighborhood of Harlem. This was where some migrants stopped, others (sometimes the same people) represented their ordeal, and where many, subsequently, were released from it by means political, economic, and artistic.

The Great Migration, which took took place from the 1920s to the 1940s and overlapped to some extent with the Harlem Renaissance, can be considered the foundational "procession" for all the processionals and parades in the first half of the twentieth century in Harlem, a neighborhood so distinct demographically, economically, materially—as well as artistically, musically, sensually, and sensuously—that it could have been considered a city unto itself. Jacob Lawrence's sixty-panel suite of paintings known today as *The Migration Series* was painted in 1940–41, toward the end of that first migratory wave, and provided an early representational template for processions in and of Harlem.[4] In doing so, it simultaneously harked back to earlier historical European models of depicting processions and anticipated a uniquely American pictorial genre for the great African American vernacular of the parade. Although Lawrence depicted other parades—such as an untitled painting from 1948 of the Elks parading and the monumental *Parade* (1960), both of which borrow openly from Aaron Douglas's figurative, geometric, and abstract style—it is through the formal openness of *The Migration Series* that the artist established a distinct pictorial, and distinctly representational, template for the processional as a topos.

For Lawrence's *Migration Series*, as it was for the Great Migration itself, it's all about numbers. Whereas the African American northern migration was about leaving in great enough numbers to escape and thrive, holding processionals in Harlem was about sustaining those numbers for the purposes of civic participation, political engagement, and funerary rituals. Painting processionals, for Lawrence, was about arriving at just the right number of figures to represent mass and movement without outnumbering the other representa-

tional elements used to situate the scenes. Figuring (and transfiguring) these massive numbers—lost within which one could be counted into disfigurement, insignificance, or redundancy—became the tasks of artists, but also the residents of Harlem, as this migration of untold proportions transformed a heretofore anonymous Upper Manhattan neighborhood into the mecca of Black America. No one escaped the law of numbers, certainly not Caribbean migrants, who, alongside Southerners, came to populate Harlem, power the parades, and run the streets with their own economic scheme: the illegal gambling racket known simply as "the numbers," or rather "de numbah" or "th'number," in their respective lingos (see the essay by Richard J. Powell in this volume).

Within the representational field, numbers need no equation but articulation, no calculation but escalation, no addition but subtraction. These are all the operations by which Lawrence sought to account for "the great numbers" of migrants who took to the roads and rails to bridge the opportunity gap they envisioned between their southern farms and their dreamed-of northern homes. Foundational, compositionally, to the processional as a theme is the processional as a format, namely, the unfolding of the even-numbered (sixty) and equally sized (12 × 18 inch) panels that Lawrence arranged, either vertically or horizontally, to constitute his great magnum opus. Lawrence's use of storyboarding lent the series its filmic dimension, film being the quintessential processional medium of the early modern era,[5] but equally evident is the painter's use of repetition within an overall metonymic conception of the series, whereby the alternating rhythm of the panels is mirrored in, and amplified by, the rhythmic repetition of a minimalist palette of forms and colors.

No less aleatory, although often discussed less frequently, is how the processional theme is itself in a metonymic relationship to the overall composition. In those panels that have a processional dimension (3, 18, 35, 40, and 55, with the possible addition of 28 and 59), the number of migrants seldom amounts to more than a dozen people per frame. Instead of swarming with individuals—whom we know, in the aggregate, reached into the millions by the end of the Great Migration, in the 1970s—the composition focuses instead on rhythms and shapes to induce motion in the viewer's

Fig. 103. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), *The Journey of the Magi*, ca. 1433–35

Fig. 104. Jacob Lawrence, *The migrants arrived in great numbers*, 1940–41, panel 40 from *The Migration Series*, 1940–41

gaze (and pace of viewing) as much as to suggest movement through the colorful motifs representing the migrants.

One important motif that inaugurates the processional panels is that of the pyramid, visible in panel 3 ("From every southern town migrants left by the hundreds to travel north"), which transforms a mountainous shape from an Italian early Renaissance painting in The Met collection, said to have been a direct source of inspiration for Lawrence, into a human mound of migrants (figs. 102, 103).[6] The pyramidal shape, or an ascending triangle, repeats in all the other processional panels, either in fragmented or even inverted form, as in panel 40, where a seemingly loose arrangement of migrants (three families and a couple) could, if brought closer together, amount to a triangular formation (fig. 104). The pyramidal shape is also the default form of the migrants' garments, as in panel 35 ("They left the South in great numbers. They arrived in the North in great numbers."), seen in a girl's white dress, or, in dramatic fashion, the conical black garb of three pallbearers in panel 55, which depicts a funeral procession (fig. 105).

It takes looking back to the Italian Renaissance, as Lawrence did, to infer why processions—even ones of great cultural, civic, and religious import, such as those of Venice, which were recorded by the greatest artists of the day, from Bellini to Carpaccio—have suffered from a kind of art historical invisibility, and then transferring this understanding to another continent and another era altogether to understand why Harlem's public ceremonial culture suffered the same fate, even as the artists who recorded these occasions for posterity did not. Accounts of Harlem's processional culture abound in the historical record, and, like that of Venice, it was illustrated in different pictorial genres. Just as these renderings helped shape the maritime republic's civic identity, so too did many literary and artistic media accounting for (or otherwise featuring) parades, cementing Harlem's status as a center of African diasporic life. But it is the representations of them (and the names of the great artists who painted them, or, in the case of Harlem, the photographers as well) rather than the people being represented in these moving tableaux-vivants that have mattered historically, a point made recently, and poignantly, by contemporary artist Lorraine O'Grady in the surely iconic performance work *Art Is...* from 1987, in which she used participants in Harlem's African American Day Parade to frame the true "materials" of the processional, which are not mixed media or photographic emulsion but human flesh and bones.

Fig. 105. Jacob Lawrence, *The migrants, having moved suddenly into a crowded and unhealthy environment, soon contracted tuberculosis. The death rate rose.*, panel 55 from *The Migration Series*, 1940–41

PARADING AFTER PAREE

> There was the sentence, "Buddy Bolden who became a legend when he went berserk in a parade"... There was the climax of the parade and then you removed yourself from the 20th century game of fame, the rest of your life a desert of facts. Cut them open and spread them out like garbage.
>
> **Michael Ondaatje, *Coming through Slaughter*, quoted in Brent Hayes Edwards, *Epistrophies*[7]**

> "How Ya Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm (After They've Seen Paree)?"
>
> **World War I–era song with music by Walter Donaldson and words by Joe Young and Sam M. Lewis[8]**

The debate as to whether New Orleans or New York was the birthplace of jazz was settled long ago in favor of the Big Easy, following historical evidence that traces a syncopated, almost genealogical line from Congo Square to Buddy Bolden and Storyville to Louis Armstrong. Although a similar debate about which of those cities might be the birthplace of the African American parading tradition might appear to be easily answered in like fashion—especially given the close relationship between jazz and parades, and the fact that the New Orleans parading tradition is far more alive, especially post-Katrina, than Harlem's is today—a compelling case can be made that Harlem was once Black America's biggest "stomping ground," where the aims of social justice met the aesthetics of commotion. One might note that New Orleans, owing to the strength of its mutual aid organizations, known locally as Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs, was further strengthened as a community in response to the "unnatural disaster" of Katrina,[9] and the city still hosts thirty-nine annual parades, colloquially called "second lines," along with its three Black Indian major ritual gatherings, one of them being Mardi Gras. Harlem, by comparison, in part owing to Black Harlemite migrations to the Bronx and losses to gentrification and rezoning, likely shed much of the cultural strength and numbers required to maintain a lively parading tradition.

Fig. 106. Detail of unknown artist, *Silent Protest Parade on Fifth Avenue, New York*, 1917 (plate 128; in the front row are James Weldon Johnson, far right, and W. E. B. Du Bois, second from right)

Not so a century ago. A list of Harlem's most iconic and, occasionally, epiphanic parades would include the NAACP's Silent Protest march of 1917 (fig. 106), the Harlem Hellfighters' homecoming parade in 1919 (fig. 109), and Marcus Garvey's UNIA parades, which epitomized the early Twenties (fig. 107). Interspersed among those would be an array of other processions by various organizations such as the Freemasons—especially the Elks, whose 1927 parade left the longest-lasting impression of all (fig. 101)—and a smattering of funeral processions of the mightiest men and women of the race, from Barron Wilkins of the Elks in 1924 to Florence Mills in 1927 (fig. 108).

The template for the photographic record of parades was undoubtedly established by the iconic Harlem photographer James Van Der Zee, who paid attention to the contrast between the dishevelment of the crowds, the looming verticality of the buildings they inhabited as families, laborers, homemakers, or schoolchildren, the treacherous horizontality of the potholed streets they rode on, and the geometric ordainment of the parades they marched in or followed from the sidewalks (plate 16). Geometry was indeed in order in the French military formation of the Harlem Hellfighters (officially the 369th Infantry Regiment), whose triumphal march up Fifth Avenue from Washington Square Park, following their return from the Allied lines in their famed homecoming parade of February 17, 1919, and roaring welcome upon entering Harlem was enough to make up for all the parades denied them previously by both the Americans and the French (fig. 109). What is striking in Van Der Zee's own photographs of Black soldiers in formation and other images of parades are the angles from which they were taken—their depth of field and vanishing lines—in short, Van Der Zee's eye as the

Fig. 107. James Van Der Zee, *UNIA Parade*, 1924

Fig. 108. Unknown artist, *Funeral of Florence Mills*, 1927

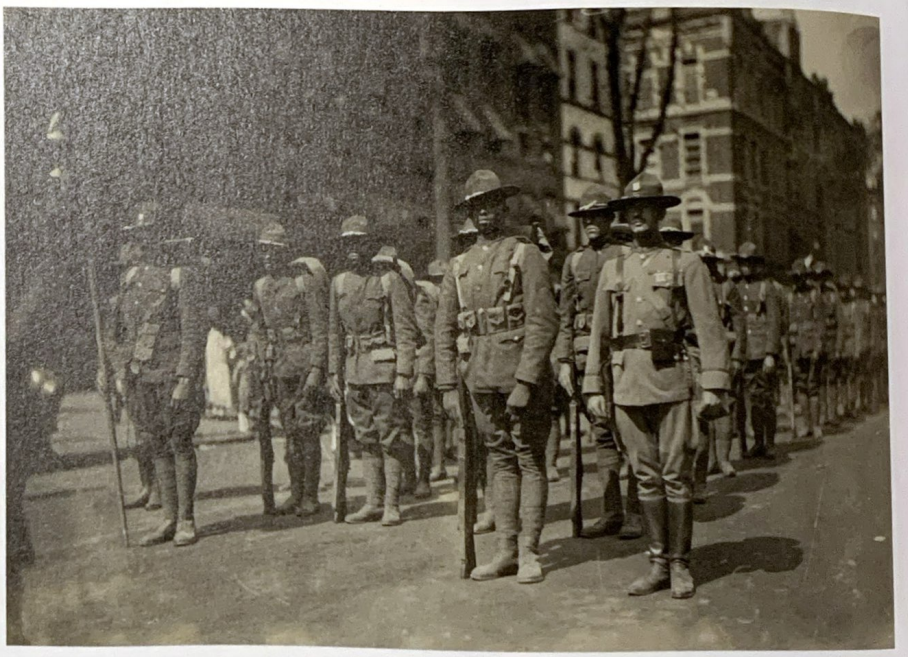


Fig. 109. Unknown artist, *The Harlem Hellfighters Marching in Formation during a World War I Victory Parade in New York*, 1919

Fig. 110. James Van Der Zee, *Soldiers on Parade, Lenox Avenue near 134th Street, Harlem*, ca. 1920

Fig. 111. Unknown artist, ***Lieutenant James Reese Europe Conducting in Paris,*** 1919

beholder of a community that was as willing to be held captive by his camera as it was intent on emancipating itself by the actions he shot them undertaking (fig. 110). Bordering on the photojournalistic at a time when few journalists paid attention to such occasions, and resolutely documentary in nature, Van Der Zee's photographs encapsulate the passing and soon to be distant hopes of a generation of fighters whose greatest struggles still lay ahead. "We *return*. We *return from fighting*. We *return fighting*," as W. E. B. Du Bois famously wrote.[10]

It was Du Bois who, some seven years earlier, had named James Reese Europe as one of *The Crisis* magazine's "Men of the Month,"[11] long before Europe became the leader of the 369th Regiment marching band and long before it could even be imagined that he would take on such a role in what was to become known as World War I (fig. 111). The quality Du Bois most associated with Europe, beyond his musicianship and leadership, was his organizational acumen, the same skill that would prove as decisive in the formation of the Clef Club, the nation's first Black musicians' union, as it would for the formation of the 369th Regiment. The reason Du Bois so valued Europe's leadership skills is because they underscored the true purpose of parades and their purchase in the collective unconscious: organization. Organizing the Black masses in marching order was to prove critical—from the time of the Harlem Renaissance to the civil rights movement and even today, in the Black Lives Matter era—in the advancement of not only the social and political demands of a people but also in showing, both reflexively and to the world, a distinct sense of themselves.

JUMPING IN THE LINE

Jump in d line
And shake up your body line
I tell you roll it like twine
Jump in d line
And shake up your body line

— **Lord Invader (Rupert Westmore Grant), "Jump in d Line," Harlem Carnival, Labor Day, 1948**

Just as a photographer like Van Der Zee—alert to the cause of men of color, marching to the tune of the music of their making, in order to represent the race—exercised his eye and trained his pace to represent them in captivating photographic impressions, so too did other artists strive to do the same in their respective media. It is these artists, painters primarily, who went beyond representation to attain the essence of movement, inasmuch as it furthered the inherent figurative plasticity of the medium.

It may seem counterintuitive to use abstraction to represent procession, yet the shift to abstraction relates significantly to the artist Norman Lewis's ongoing reflection about how to attain the most appropriate creative means to express the social and political condition of African Americans. Whereas Lewis's shift from representation to abstraction—or rather, to forms of Abstract Expressionism, in keeping with the dominant art movement of the day—has been much discussed now that Lewis has been fully reintegrated into that canon, his resorting to processions as a central trope for that abstraction deserves more attention.[12]

The son of immigrants from Bermuda, Lewis was born in Harlem in 1909. He would have just turned six when the Silent Protest March was organized by the NAACP on July 28, 1917, in response to the horrific killings that resulted from the East St. Louis race riots; he would have been eight when the Harlem Hellfighters returned home to Harlem; and he would have been in his early teens when the UNIA ceremonially processed on the occasion of its annual conventions. Did his parents take the young Lewis to any of these memorable marches, parades, and processions? Is he perhaps one of the children seen waving a flag from the sidewalk? Although we may never know if Lewis and his parents attended these momentous ceremonial events, we can surmise that Harlem's public ceremonial culture permeated their lives, as it did for most Harlemites of the time.

What we can infer, at the very least, is that Lewis might have drawn upon reminiscences dating as far back as he could remember, as his birth was concurrent with both the florescence of the Harlem Renaissance and the heyday of the neighborhood's processional traditions. The cultural embeddedness of parades in Harlem at the time Lewis lived there, and the presumably slow processional memorial that may have accumulated and consolidated in his mind, is the reason it is pertinent to include Lewis into a conversation about Harlem Renaissance–era processional representations even if he did not start painting processionals until long after the era was over.

We know that the processional emerged as a theme in Lewis's work at about the same time he shifted to abstraction, around the 1940s, but it may be impossible to ascertain when, exactly, he painted his first, and if he did so from recent memory—since processionals kept on happening after the Renaaissance and continue to be held in Harlem to this day—or from older memories from his decades of life in the neighborhood. More poignant still is the strong assumption we may have that Lewis was a primary witness to two of the processional events he turned into two of his most iconic paintings: the first Harlem Carnival, in 1947, and the March on Washington, in 1965. Was the advent of the first public parade of the Caribbean diaspora in Harlem (and in New York City, for that matter) an especially significant event for this first-generation Bermudian artist? Did the Trinidadian *mas*, as that carnival tradition is known, bring up memories of Gombey (the Bermudian equivalent) or, perhaps, more generally feed into the pan-Caribbean cultural milieu into which Lewis may have been immersed?

A memorable photograph by Eugene Smith captures the second year of the Harlem Carnival parade, in 1948 (fig. 112). It shows a scantily clad woman, presumably responding to the calypso singer Lord Invader's lyric "shaking up her body line and rolling it like twine" in his song of the year, "Jump in d Line."[13] In Lewis's rendering, the processional can

Fig. 112. W. Eugene Smith, *West Indian Day Parade*, 1948

be seen gyrating toward the left and forming concentric circles of vertically elongated, rectangular shapes, reminiscent of contemporary archival photographs of so-called historical *mas* in Port of Spain, Trinidad, directed by the likes of Harold Saldenah, whose complex carnival productions required revelers to don costumes of armor, complete with spears and shields (fig. 113). Whatever Lewis's visual references might have been, if not his own recollections, the painting provides an unlikely document of the first Harlem Carnival as well as a method of spatial organization that required Lewis to lead the eye across the canvas not unlike how the *mas* man (vernacular for a carnival designer or bandleader in Trinidad) would guide revelers across the stage for maximum optical impact. Closer in visual organization to his *Migrating Birds*

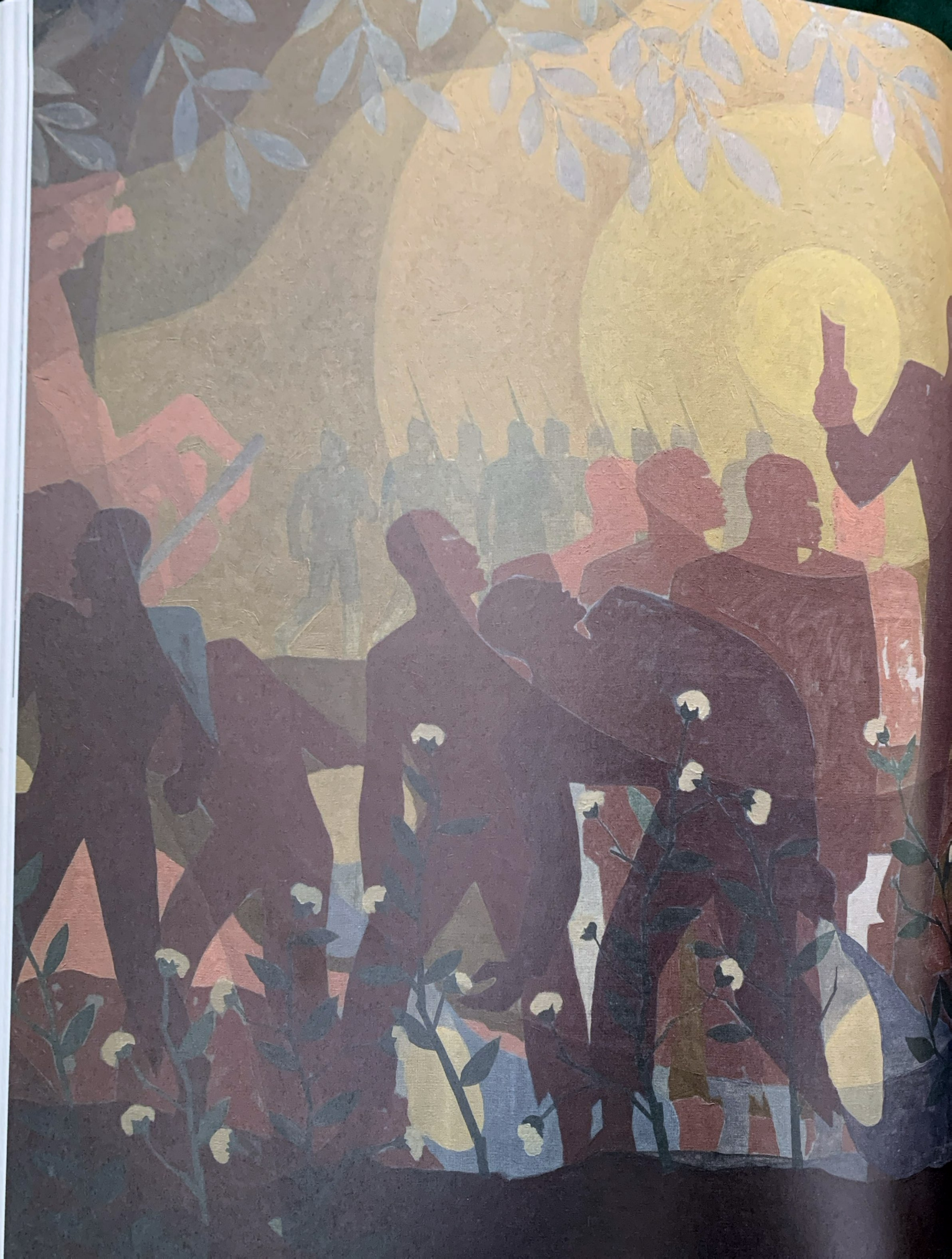
Fig. 113. Norman Lewis, *Carnival*, 1947

(1953)—perhaps an apt metaphor for this "flock" of Caribbean migrants, who came to nest in Harlem much like the Black Americans before them who were fleeing the South—Lewis's 1947 Carnival painting startles in its immediacy, suggesting it must have been made the same year as the festival in Harlem it depicts.

By contrast, the untitled painting commonly referred to as *March on Washington*, which dates to 1965, is a clear memorial of Lewis's participation in the historic March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom led by Martin Luther King, Jr., on August 28, 1963, on the National Mall. The date and location of the march—late August, in an extraterritorial enclave of the State of Maryland along the Potomac River—as well as the quality of light seen in photographs (contrasting patches of clarity against a black sea of people) attests to the heat and, presumably, judging by some of the elegant attire, to the colorful nature of the assembly. Lewis rendered this sea of humanity under a bright blue sky—or perhaps passing along its own reflection in a body of water, maybe the Lincoln Memorial Reflecting Pool—in a horizontal painting whose rectilinear structure seems precisely matched to the teleology of progress symbolized here in a physical march forward (fig. 114). As the crowd, figured by silhouettes of colored patches, exits to the right, its momentum is constrained only by the passages of red through which it seems to flow beneath the billowing clouds.

Fig. 114. Norman Lewis, *March on Washington*, 1965

What lessons from the marches of Harlem were brought to the March on Washington, both the historical event—which perpetuated a tradition of peaceful marching inaugurated in the capital of Black America some forty-five years earlier—and the painting made after it by one of its protagonists, a Harlemite named Norman Lewis? Although Lewis painted scores of other processionals—some with somber motifs (the nocturnal Ku Klux Klan gatherings in *Evening Rendezvous*, 1962) and others that are more abstract (*Processional*, 1964)—the two works considered here, particularly in terms of the timing of their manufacture and the abstract nature of their facture, which captures simultaneously a plethora of details and the immersive atmosphere of these events—stand as exemplars for locating Harlem's processional record in the medium of painting. To return to the matter of numbers, it is not that counting heads no longer mattered, or that the crowd didn't keep growing, it is that they did and they do, on both accounts. It might be that humanity, having fully fused into an indiscernible mass, could now be figured whole, or as mattering more than the sum of its individual human parts.

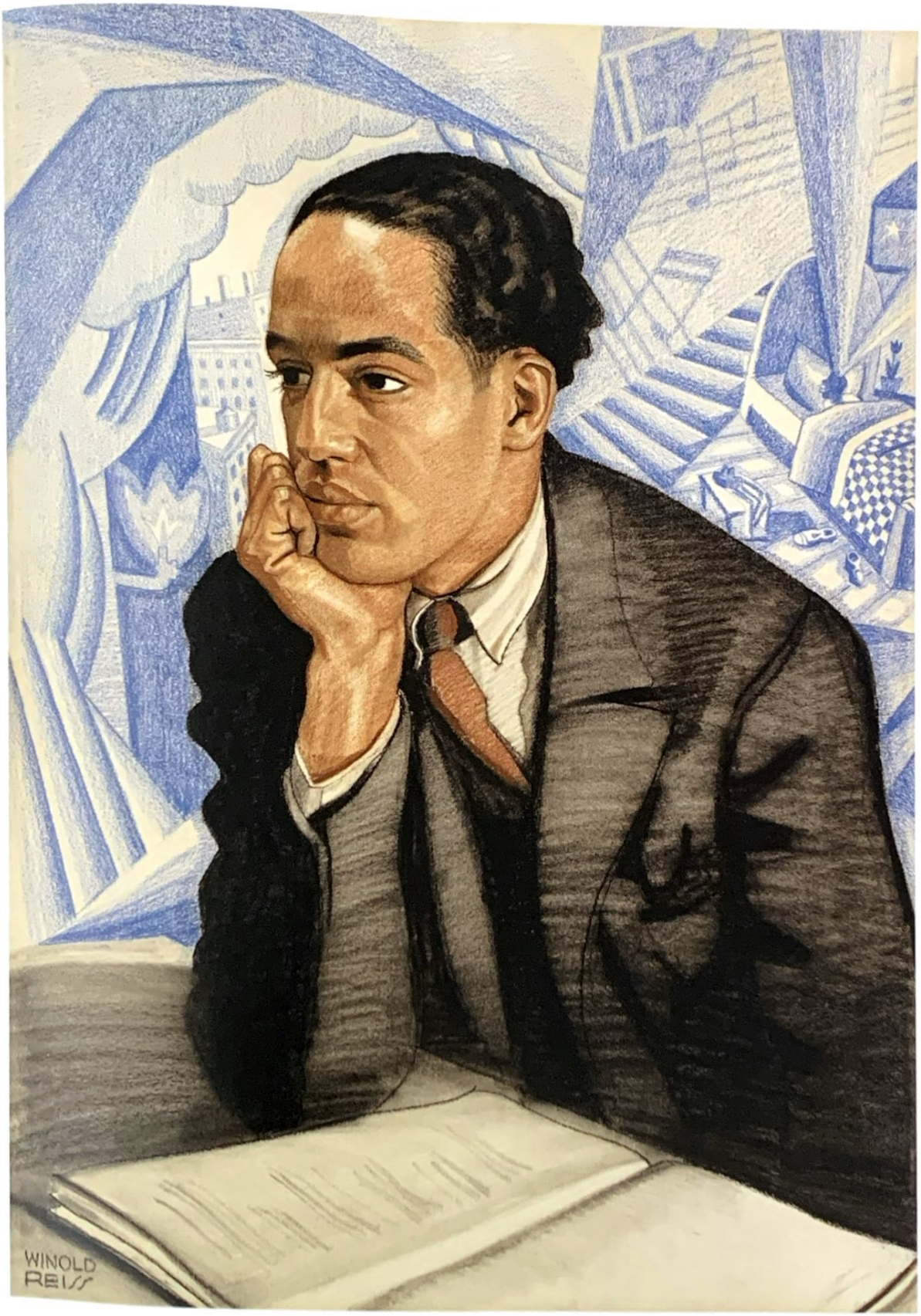


PLATES

1. Winold Reiss, *Alain Leroy Locke*, 1925

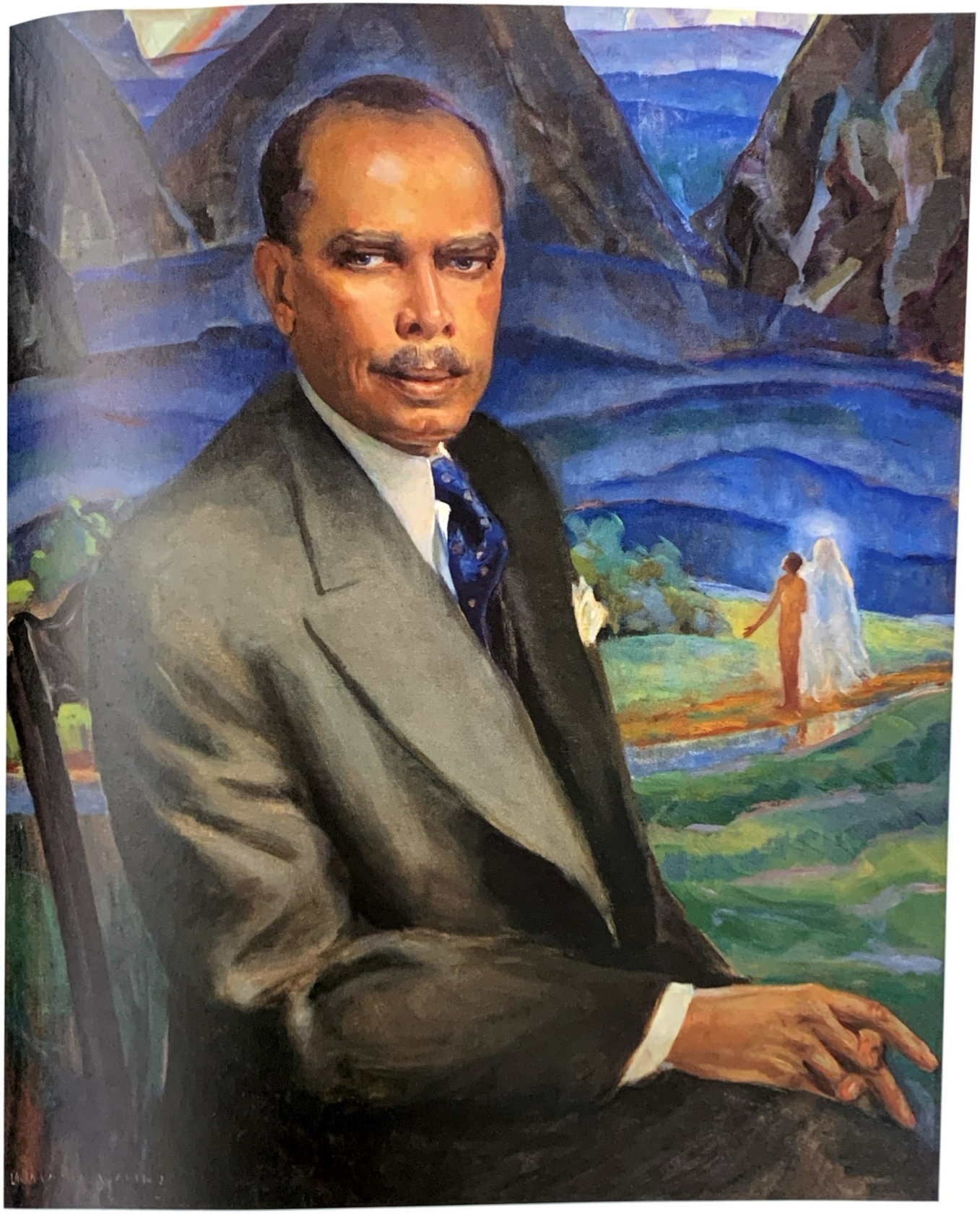
2. Aaron Douglas, *Miss Zora Neale Hurston*, 1926

3. Edwin Harleston, *Aaron Douglas*, 1930



4. Winold Reiss, *Langston Hughes*, 1925

5. Winold Reiss, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 1925

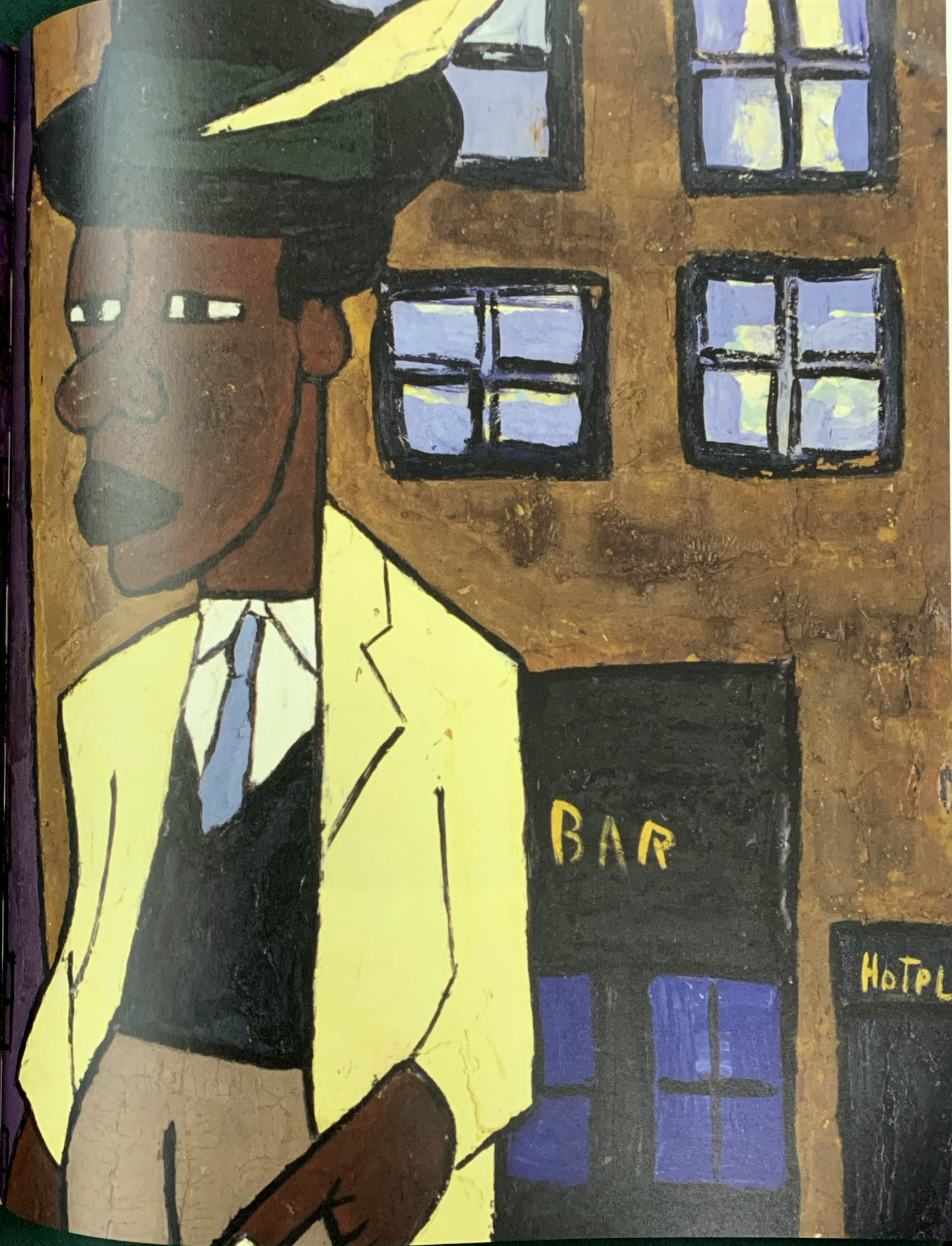


6. Laura Wheeler Waring, *James Weldon Johnson*, 1943

7. James Van Der Zee, *Couple, Harlem*, 1932

8. William H. Johnson, *Street Life, Harlem*, ca. 1939–40

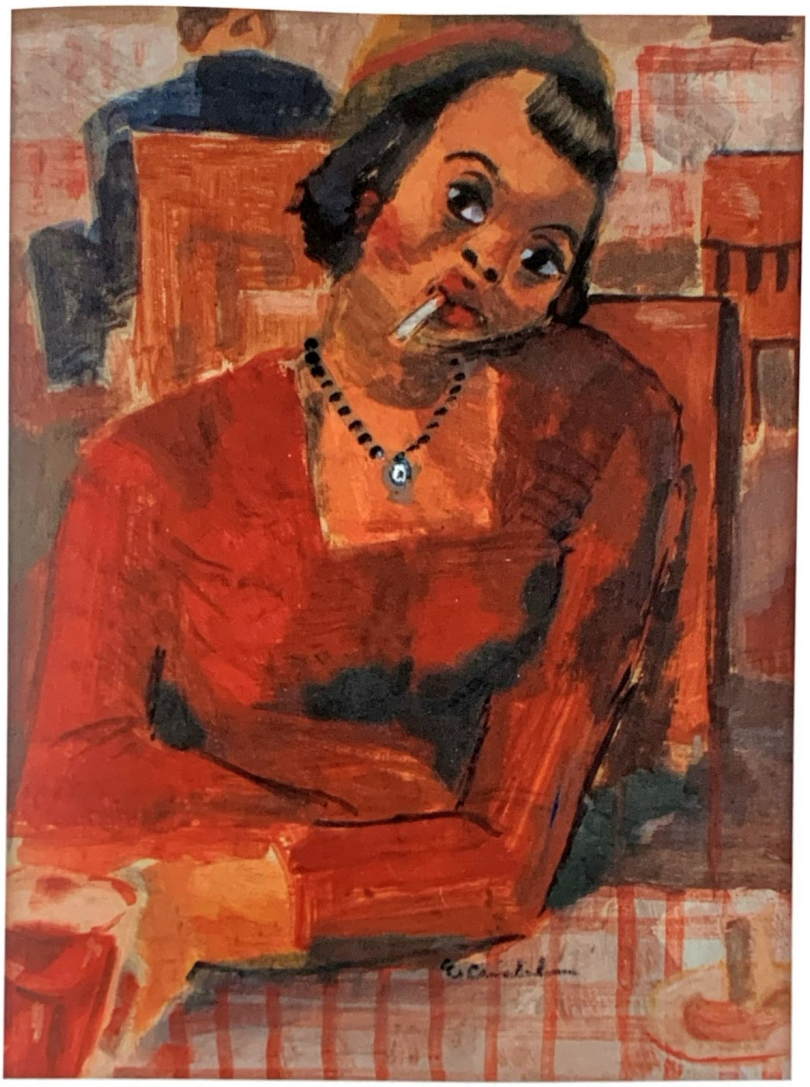
BAR
HOTEL
WHJohnson


BAR
HOTEL

9. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *The Liar*, 1936

10. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *The Plotters*, 1933

11. Jacob Lawrence, *Pool Parlor*, 1942



12. Ernest Crichlow, *Anyone's Date*, 1940

13. Hale Woodruff, *The Card Players*, 1930

14. Palmer Hayden, *Nous Quatre à Paris (We Four in Paris)*, ca. 1930

15. Jacob Lawrence, *The Photographer*, 1942

16. James Van Der Zee, *Parade, Harlem*, 1920s

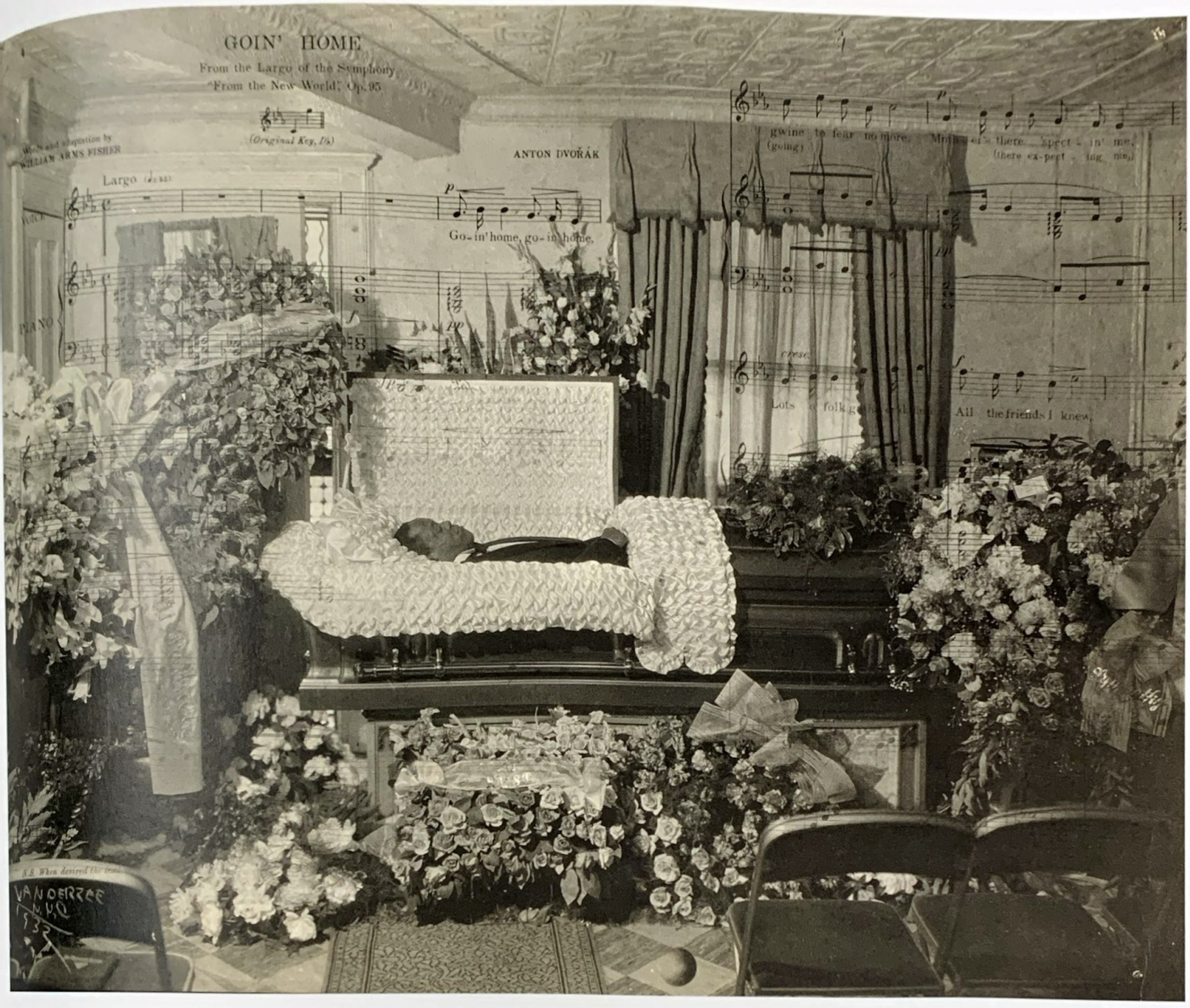
17. Malvin Gray Johnson, *Elks Marching*, 1934

18. Malvin Gray Johnson, *Jenkins Band*, 1934

BAKERY

19. James Van Der Zee, *Bride*, 1937

20. James Van Der Zee, *Funeral Portrait with "Goin' Home" Sheet Music*, 1932


GOIN' HOME
From the Largo of the Symphony
"From the New World" Op. 95
(Original Key, Eb)
ANTON DVOŘÁK
Largo
Go-in' home, go-in' home.
gwine to fear no more.
(going)
(there ex-pect - ing me.)
All the friends I knew.

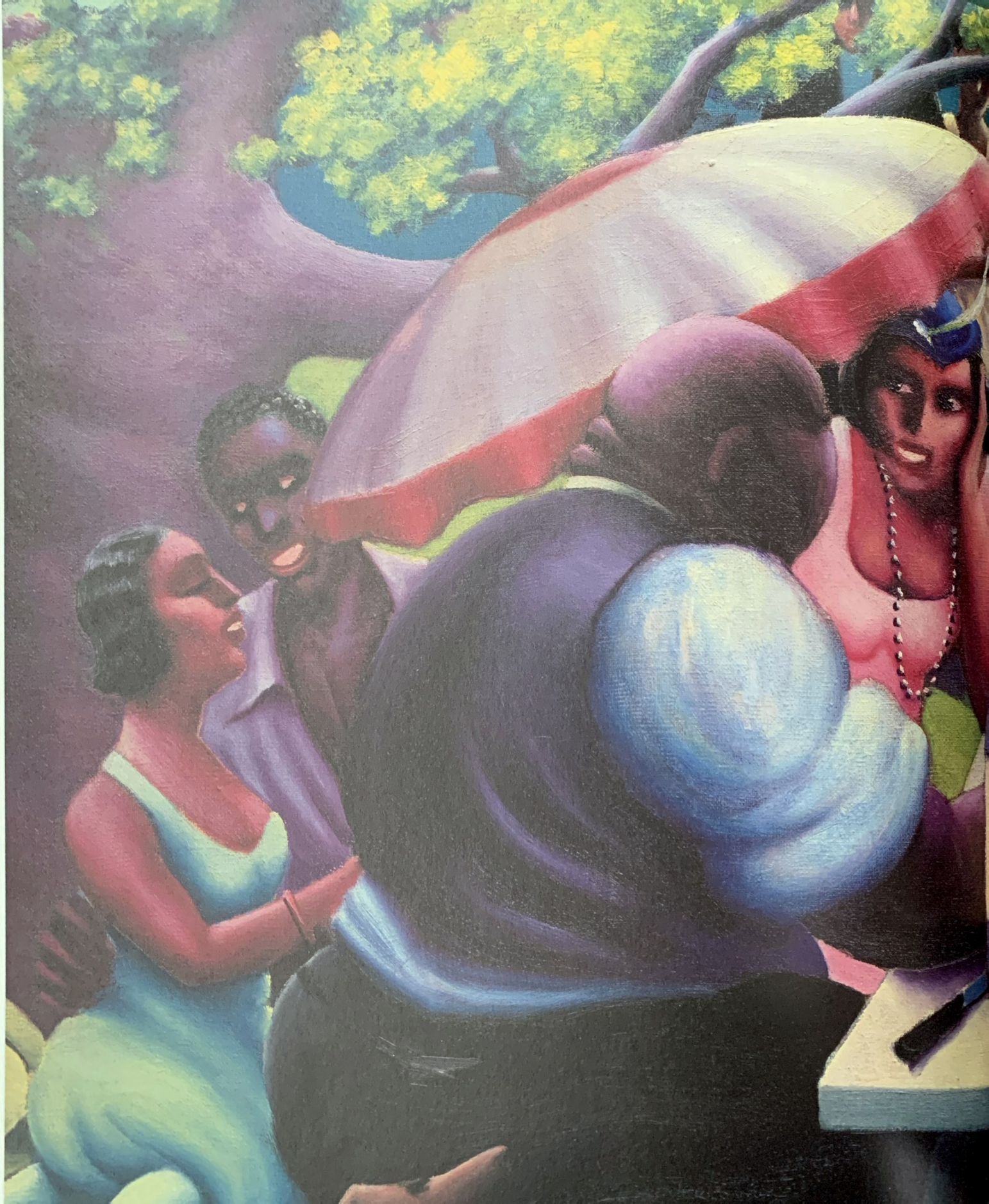
21. James Van Der Zee, *Group of Women*, 1940

22. James Van Der Zee, *Portrait of a Family*, 1934

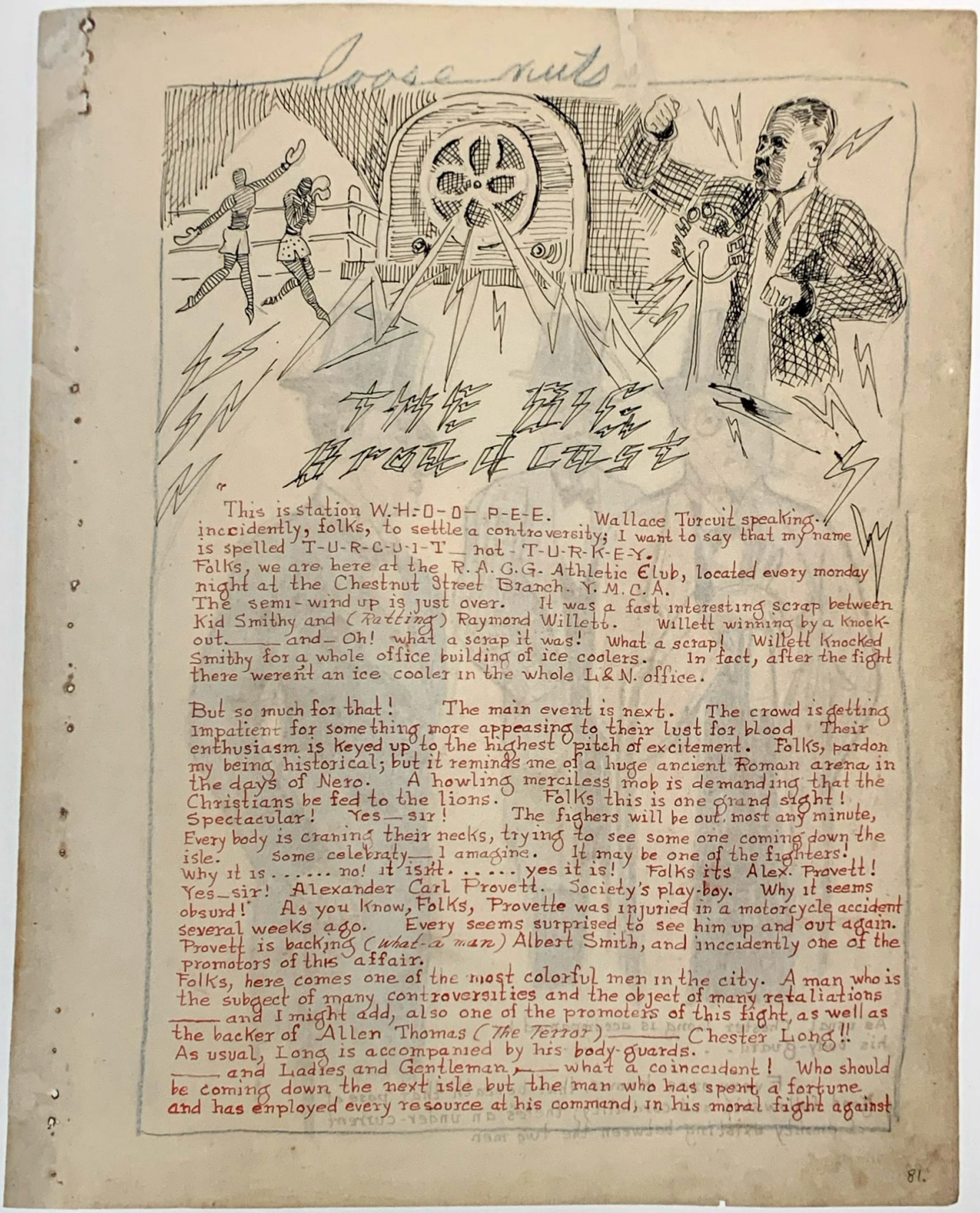
23. James Van Der Zee, *Luncheon Party, Harlem*, 1927

24. James Van Der Zee, *Tea Time at Madam C. J. Walker's Beauty Salon*, 1929

25. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Picnic*, 1934



26. Bert Hurley, page from *Loose Nuts: A Rapsody in Brown*, 1933

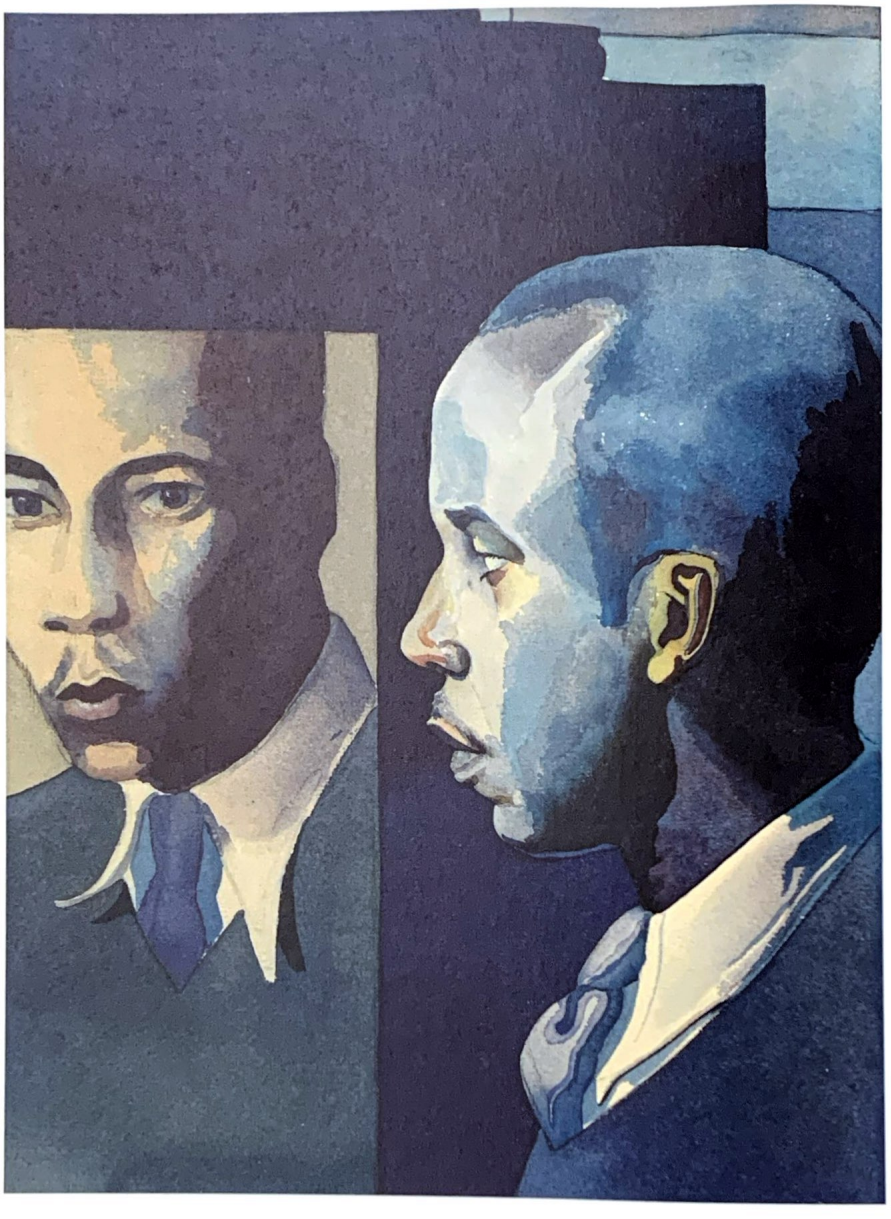


This is station W-H-O-O-P-E-E. Wallace Turcuit speaking. incoidently, folks, to settle a controversity; I want to say that my name is spelled T-U-R-C-U-I-T_ not - T-U-R-K-E-Y.
Folks, we are here at the R.A.G.G. Athletic Club, located every monday night at the Chestnut Street Branch. Y.M.C.A.
The semi-wind up is just over. It was a fast interesting scrap between Kid Smithy and (Rotting) Raymond Willett. Willett winning by a Knock-out._____ and_ Oh! what a scrap it was! What a scrap! Willett Knocked Smithy for a whole office building of ice coolers. In fact, after the fight there weren't an ice cooler in the whole L&N. office.

But so much for that! The main event is next. The crowd is getting impatient for something more appeasing to their lust for blood Their enthusiasm is keyed up to the highest pitch of excitement. Folks, pardon my being historical; but it reminds me of a huge ancient Roman arena in the days of Nero. A howling merciless mob is demanding that the Christians be fed to the lions. Folks this is one grand sight! Spectacular! Yes_sir! The fighers will be out most any minute, Every body is craning their necks, trying to see some one coming down the isle. Some celebraty_ I amagine. It may be one of the fighters! Why it is..... no! it isn't..... yes it is! Folks its Alex. Provett! Yes_sir! Alexander Carl Provett. Society's play-boy. Why it seems obsurd! As you know, Folks, Provette was injuried in a motorcycle accident several weeks ago. Every seems surprised to see him up and out again. Provett is backing (what-a man) Albert Smith, and inccidently one of the promotors of this affair.
Folks, here comes one of the most colorful men in the city. A man who is the subject of many controversities and the object of many retaliations ____ and I might add, also one of the promoters of this fight, as well as the backer of Allen Thomas (The Terror) _____ Chester Long!!
As usual, Long is accompanied by his body-guards.
____ and Ladies and Gentleman,____ what a coincident! Who should be coming down the next isle but the man who has spent a fortune and has employed every resource at his command, in his moral fight against

81.

27. Bert Hurley, page from *Loose Nuts: A Rapsody in Brown*, 1933

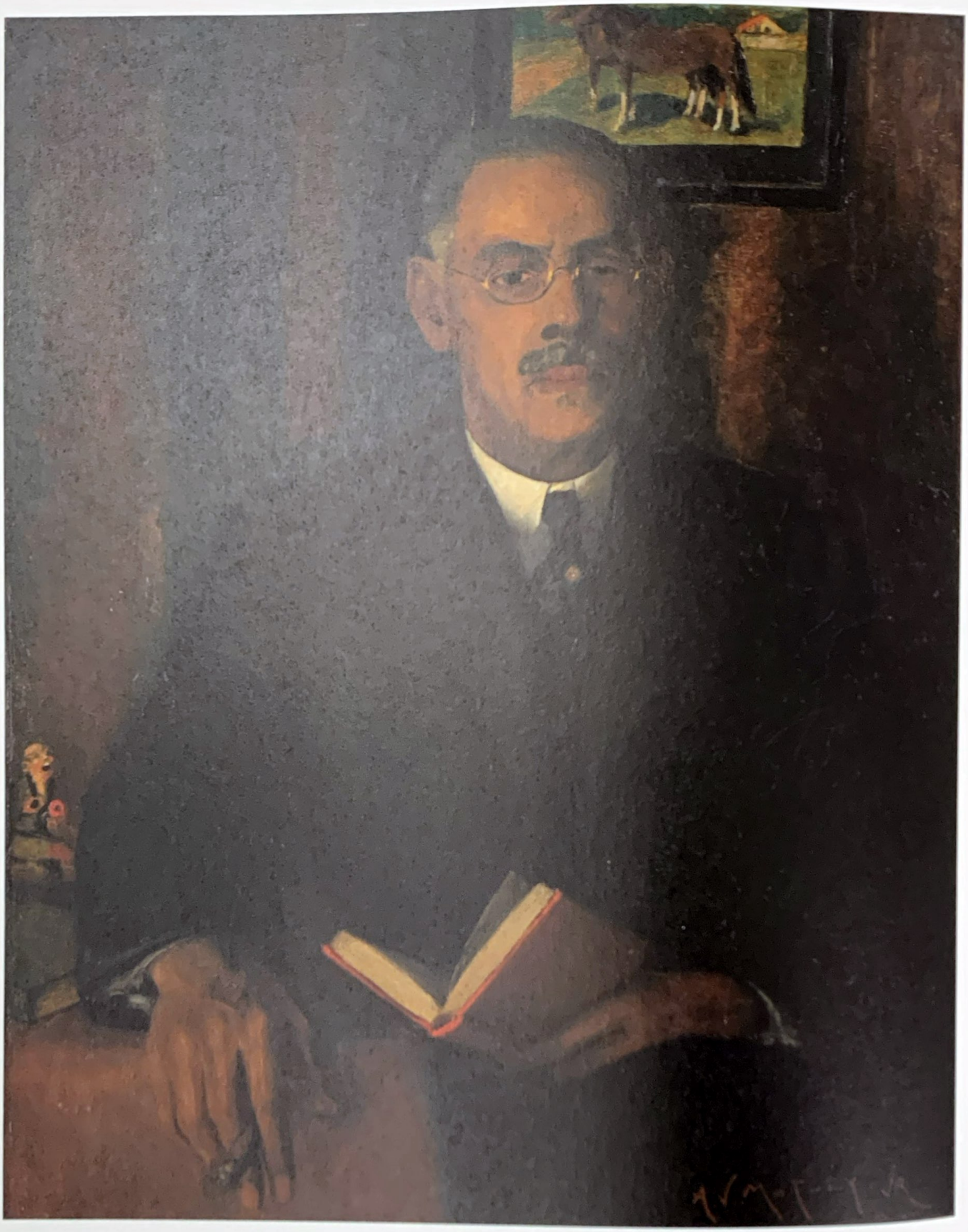


28. Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr., *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1941

29. Charles Henry Alston, *Girl in a Red Dress*, 1934

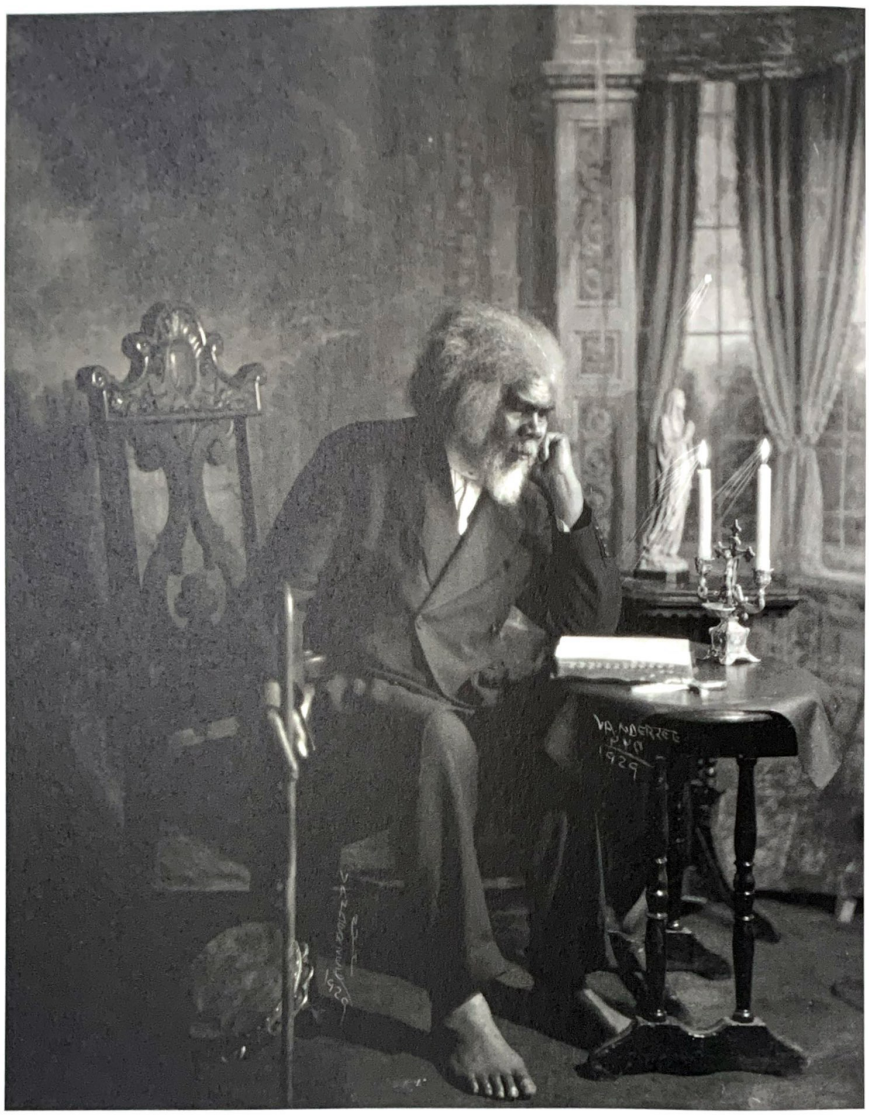
30. William H. Johnson, *Woman in Blue*, ca. 1943

31. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Portrait of a Cultured Lady (Edna Powell Gayle)*, 1948

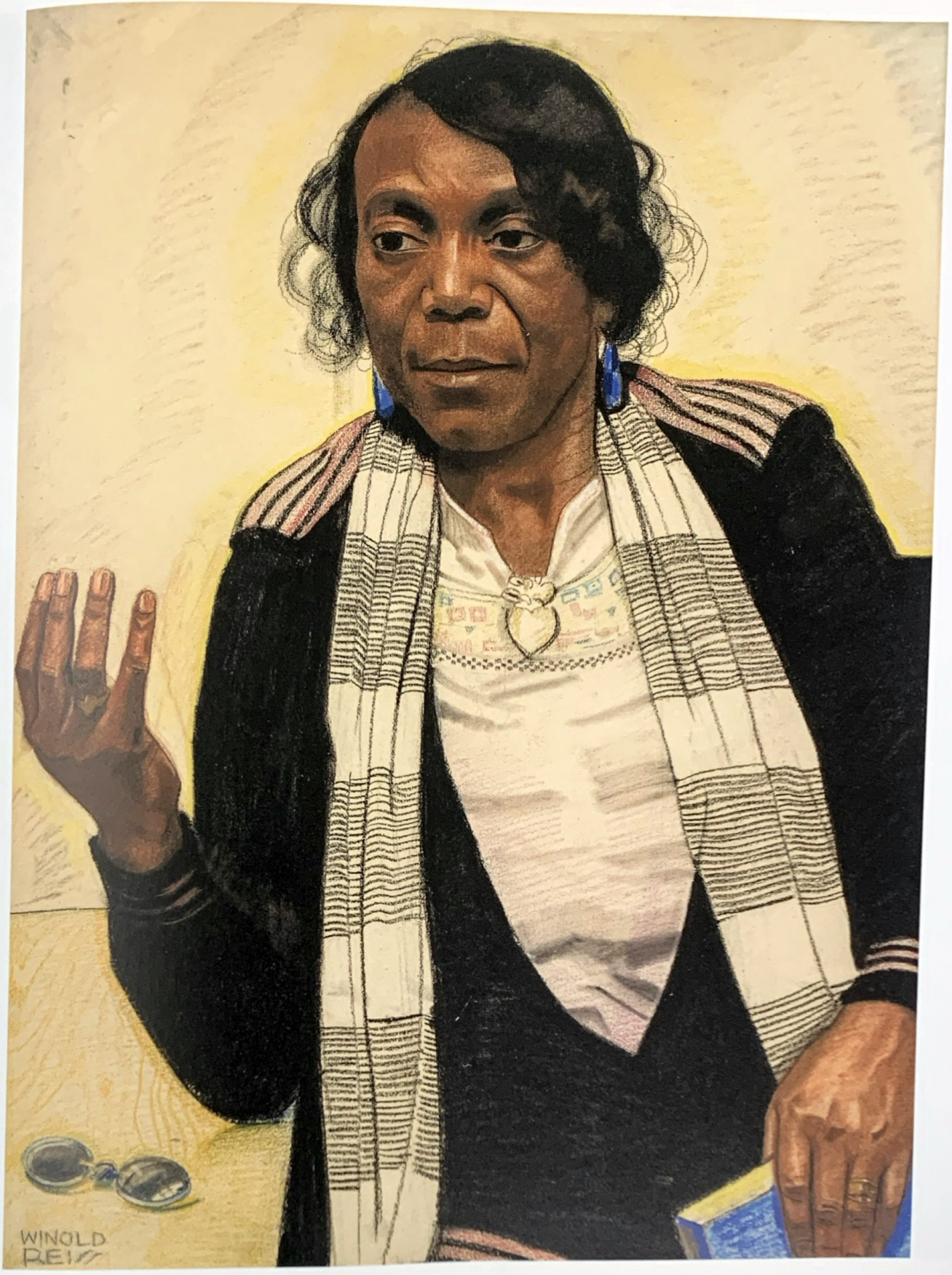


32. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Portrait of the Artist's Father*, ca. 1922

33. William H. Johnson, *Man in a Vest*, 1939–40

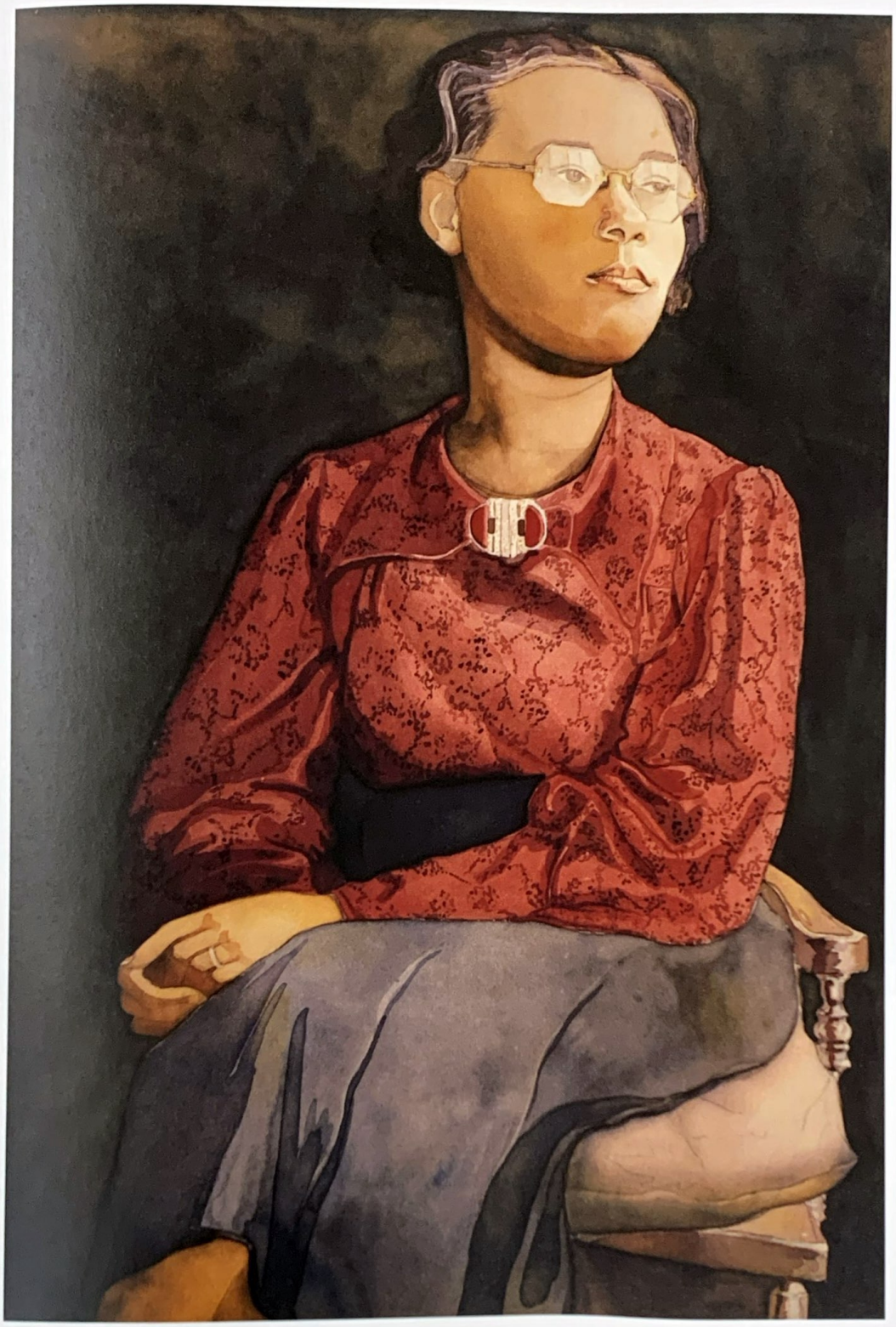


34. James Van Der Zee, *The Barefoot Prophet*, 1929

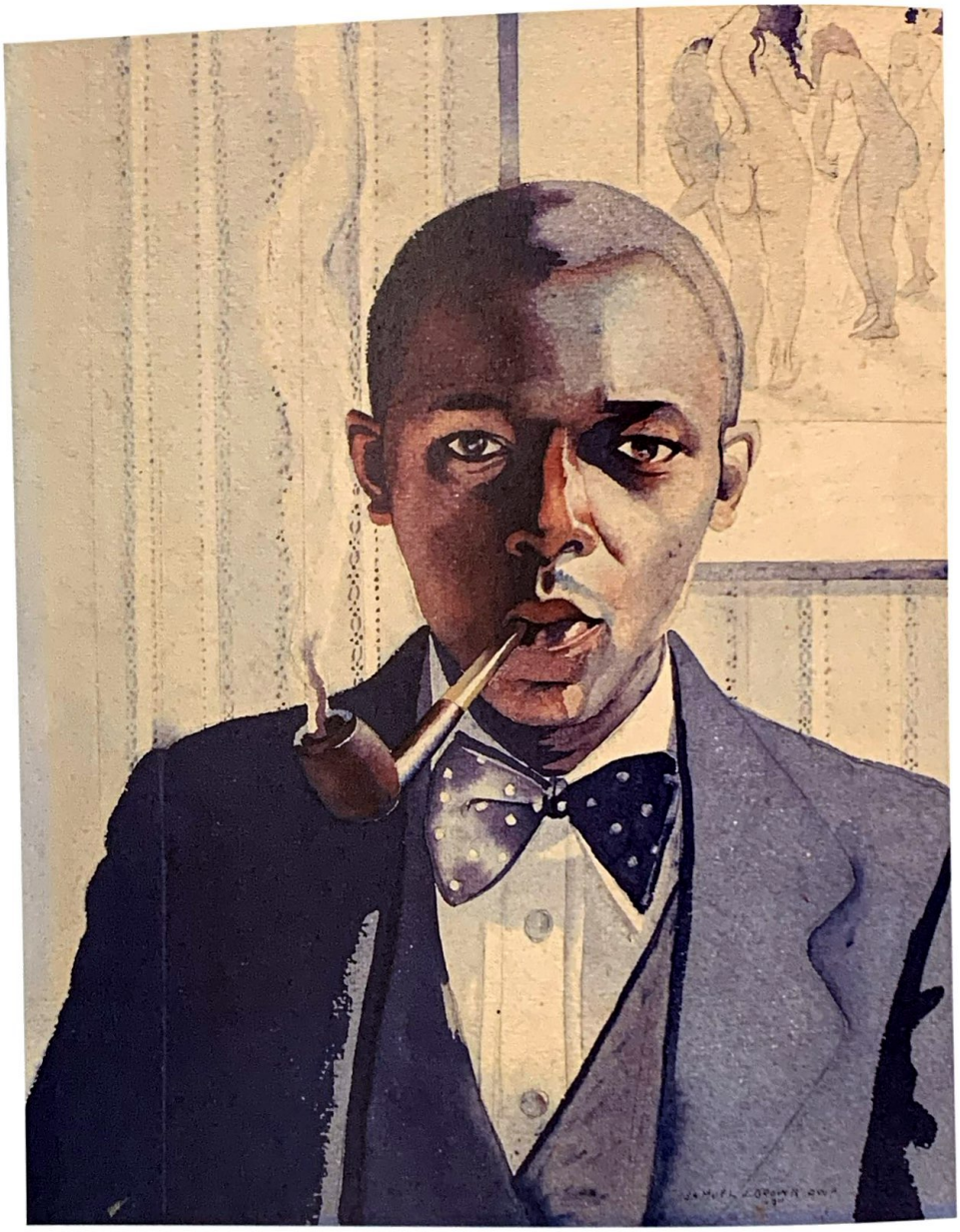


35. Winold Reiss, *The Actress*, 1925

36. Laura Wheeler Waring, *Girl in Green Cap*, 1930

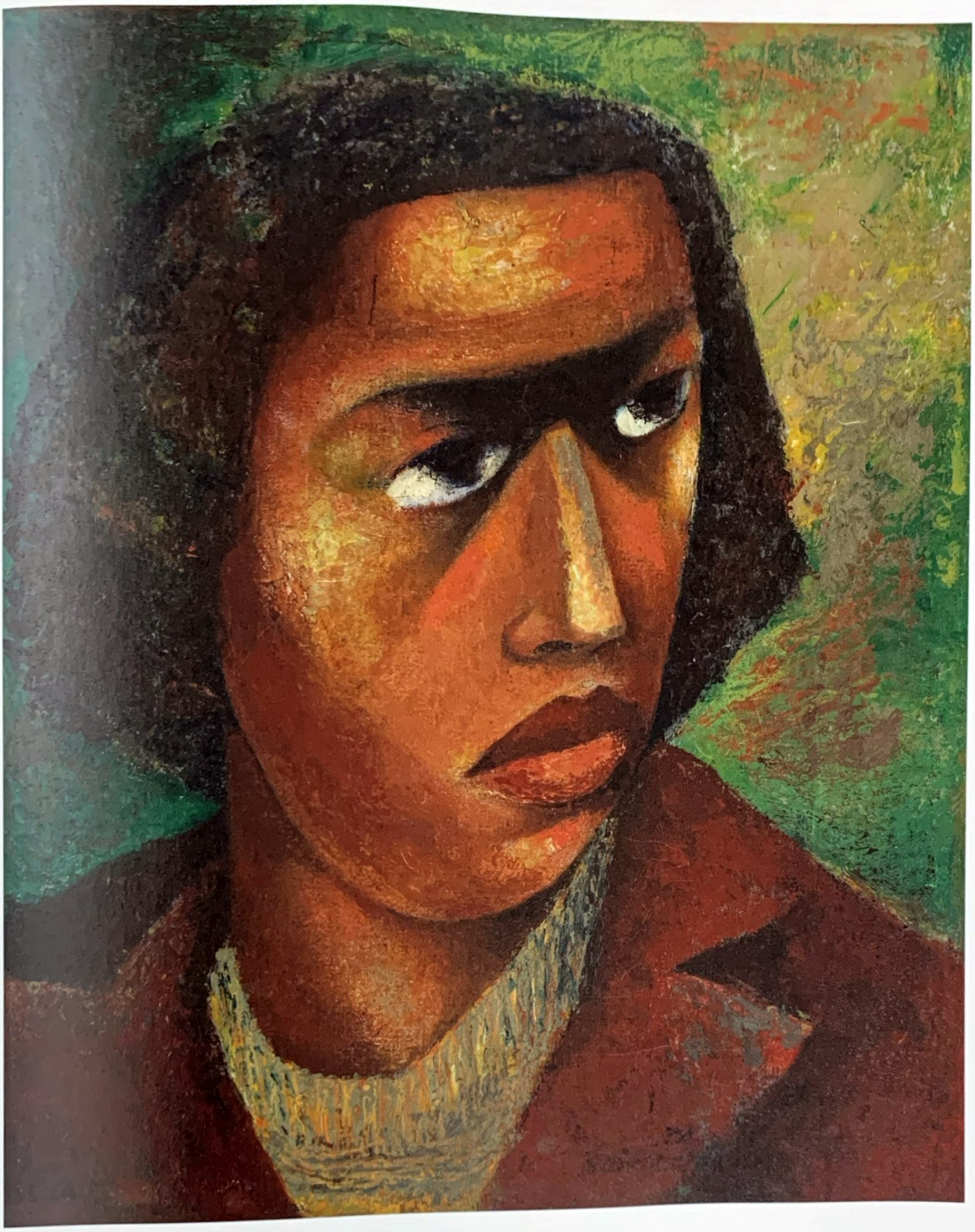


37. Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr., *Mrs. Simmons*, ca. 1936



38. Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr., *Smoking My Pipe*, 1934

39. William H. Johnson, *Triple Self-Portrait*, 1944



40. Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr., *Girl in Blue Dress*, 1936

41. Elizabeth Catlett, *Head of a Woman (Woman)*, 1942–44

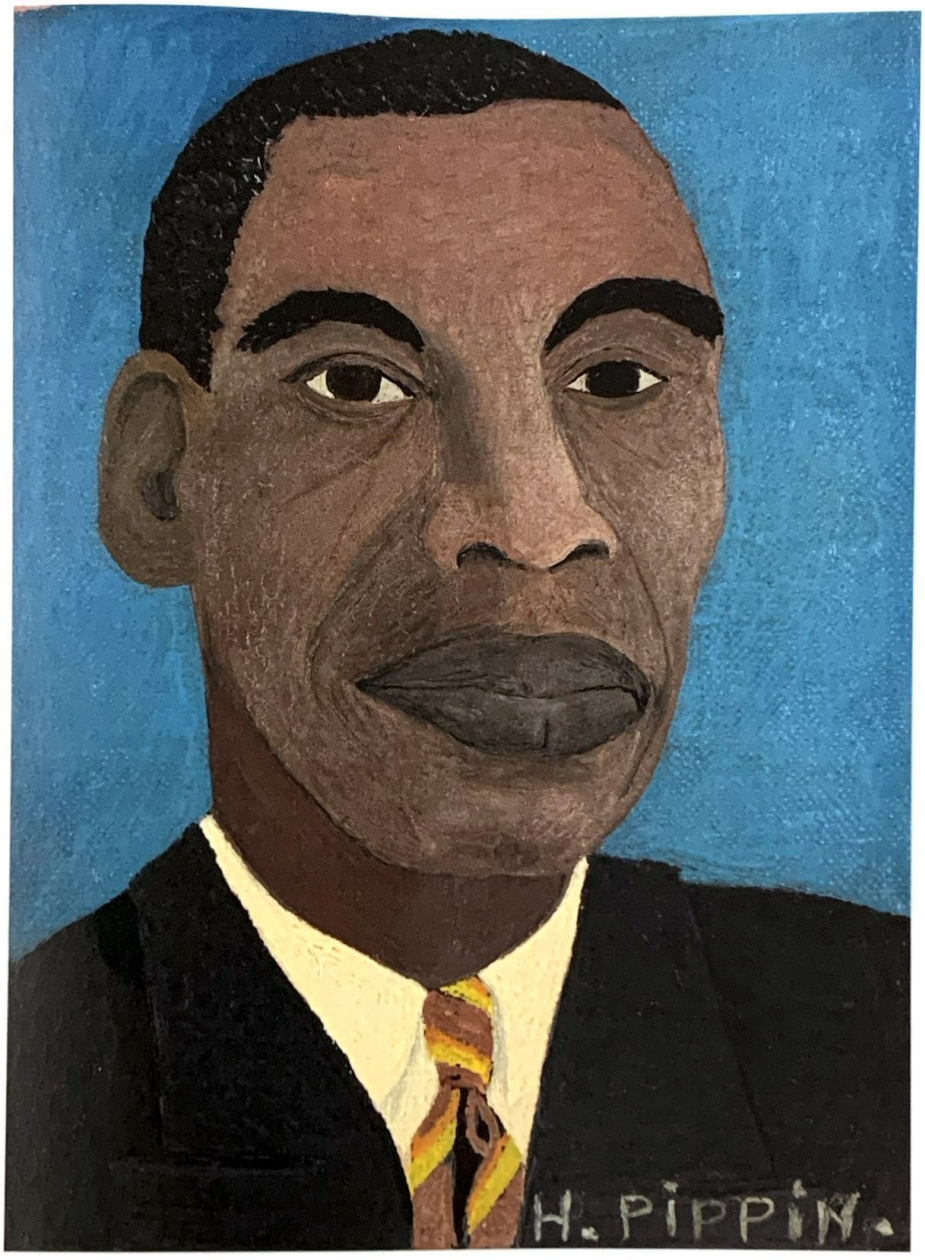
42. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1920

43. Malvin Gray Johnson, *Self-Portrait*, 1934

44. James Van Der Zee, *Self-Portrait with Gaynella Greenlee*, 1920s

45. Palmer Hayden, *The Janitor Who Paints*, ca. 1937, repainted after 1940

46. Horace Pippin, *The Artist's Wife*, 1936



47. Horace Pippin, *Self-Portrait II*, 1944

48. Aaron Douglas, *The Creation*, 1935

49. Aaron Douglas, *Noah Built the Ark*, 1935

50. Aaron Douglas, *Let My People Go*, ca. 1935–39

51. Aaron Douglas, *The Judgement Day*, 1939

52. Aaron Douglas, *Aspects of Negro Life: From Slavery to Reconstruction*, 1934

53. Aaron Douglas, *Building More Stately Mansions*, 1944

54. Aaron Douglas, *Aspiration*, 1936

55. Sargent Claude Johnson, *Mask*, 1934

56. William Artis, *Woman with Kerchief*, 1939

57. Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, *Maquette for "Ethiopia Awakening,"* 1921

58. Hale Woodruff, *The Art of the Negro: Artists (Study)*, 1950–51

59. Palmer Hayden, *Fétiche et Fleurs*, 1932

60. Augusta Savage, *Lift Every Voice and Sing (The Harp)*, 1939

61. Richmond Barthé, *Boxer*, 1942

62. Henri Matisse, *Aïcha and Lorette*, 1917

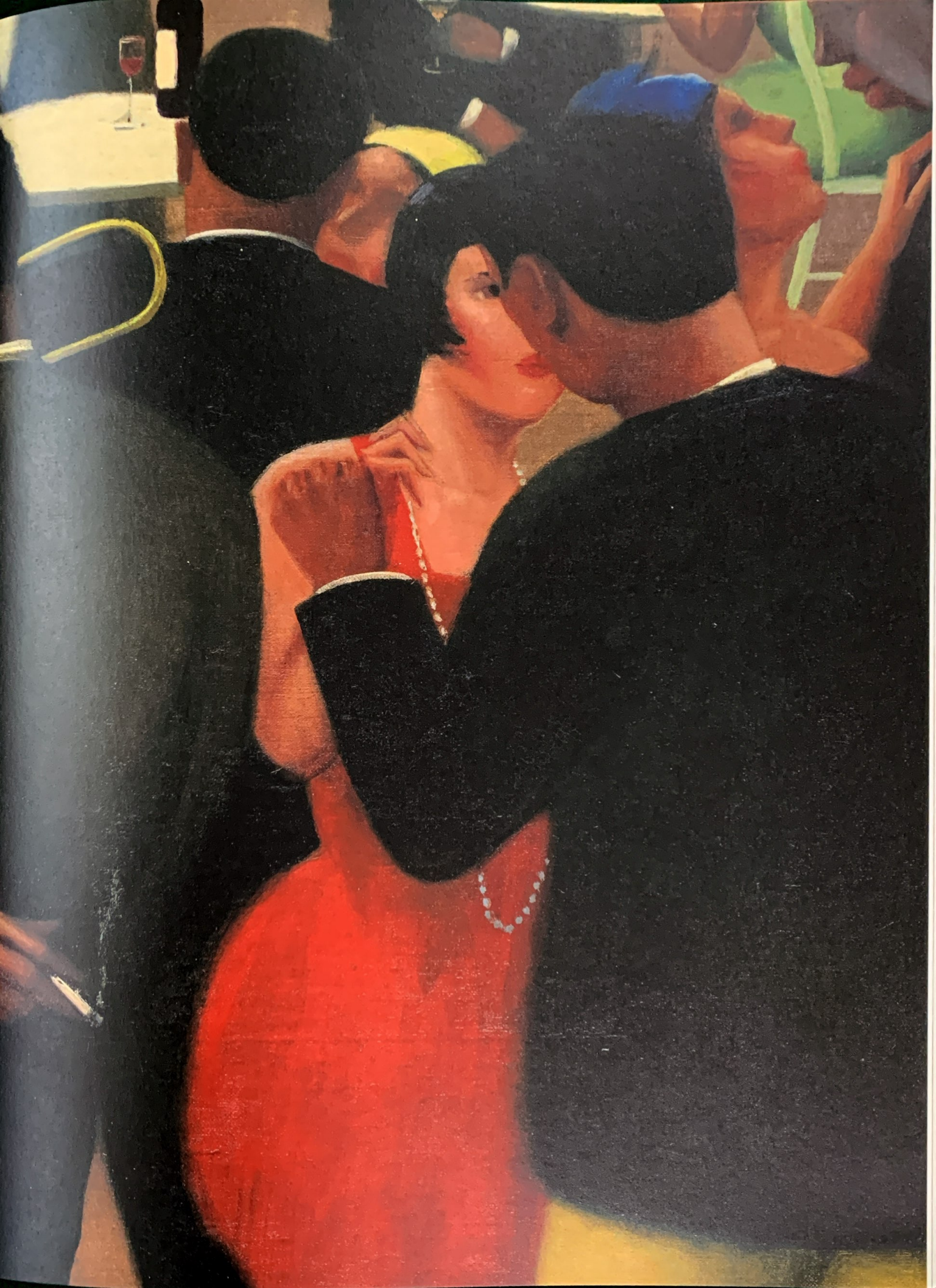
63. Margaret Taylor Goss-Burroughs, *Friends*, 1942

64. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Café, Paris*, 1929

65. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Jockey Club*, 1929

66. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Dans la rue*, 1929

67. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Blues*, 1929



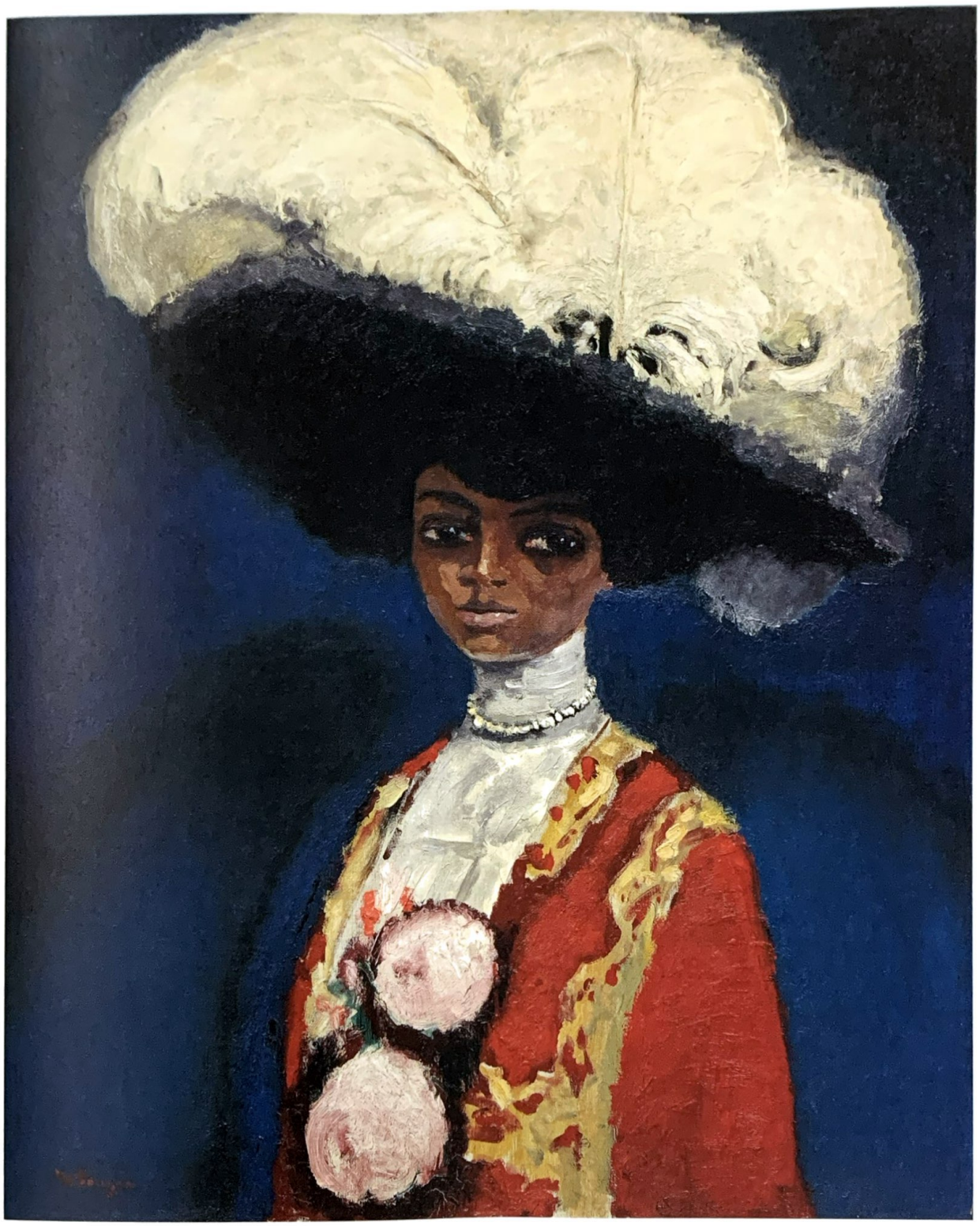
68. Roland Penrose, *Four Women Asleep (Lee Miller, Ady Fidelin, Nusch Éluard, and Leonora Carrington), Lambe Creek, Cornwall, England*, 1937

69. Henri Matisse, *Woman in White (Dame à la robe blanche)*, 1946

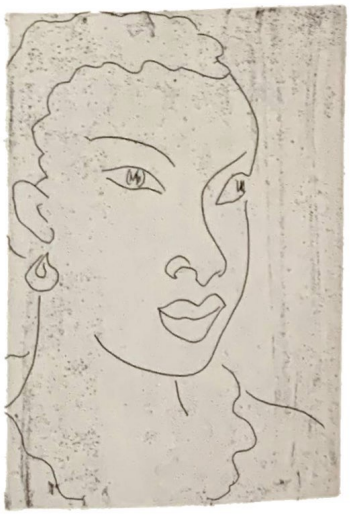
70. Henri Matisse, *Asia (L'Asie)*, 1946

71. Edvard Munch, *Abdul Karim with a Green Scarf*, 1916

72. Nola Hatterman, *Louis Richard Drenthe/On the Terrace*, 1930



73. Kees van Dongen, *White Feathers (Plumes blanches)*, 1910–12



74. Henri Matisse, *Madagascar*, 1943

75. Pablo Picasso, *"Negro, negro, negro…," Portrait of Aimé Césaire, Laureate*, from *Corps perdu*, 1949–50

76. Henri Matisse, *Martiniquaise*, study for *Fleurs du Mal*, 1946

77. Pablo Picasso, *Minotaur and Woman*, 1937

78. Man Ray, *Adrienne Fidelin and Nusch in Martinician Costume*, 1937

79. William H. Johnson, *Vieille Maison at Porte*, ca. 1927

80. Chaim Soutine, *View of Cagnes*, ca. 1924–25

81. Germaine Casse, *Rade de Pointe à Pitre*, 1920

82. Hale Woodruff, *Twilight*, ca. 1926

83. Laura Wheeler Waring, *Yellow Roses*, n.d.

84. William H. Johnson, *Flowers*, 1939–40

85. Suzanna Ogunjami, *Full-Blown Magnolia*, 1935

86. Aaron Douglas, *Still Life*, n.d.

87. Ronald Moody, *Dr. Harold A. Moody*, 1946

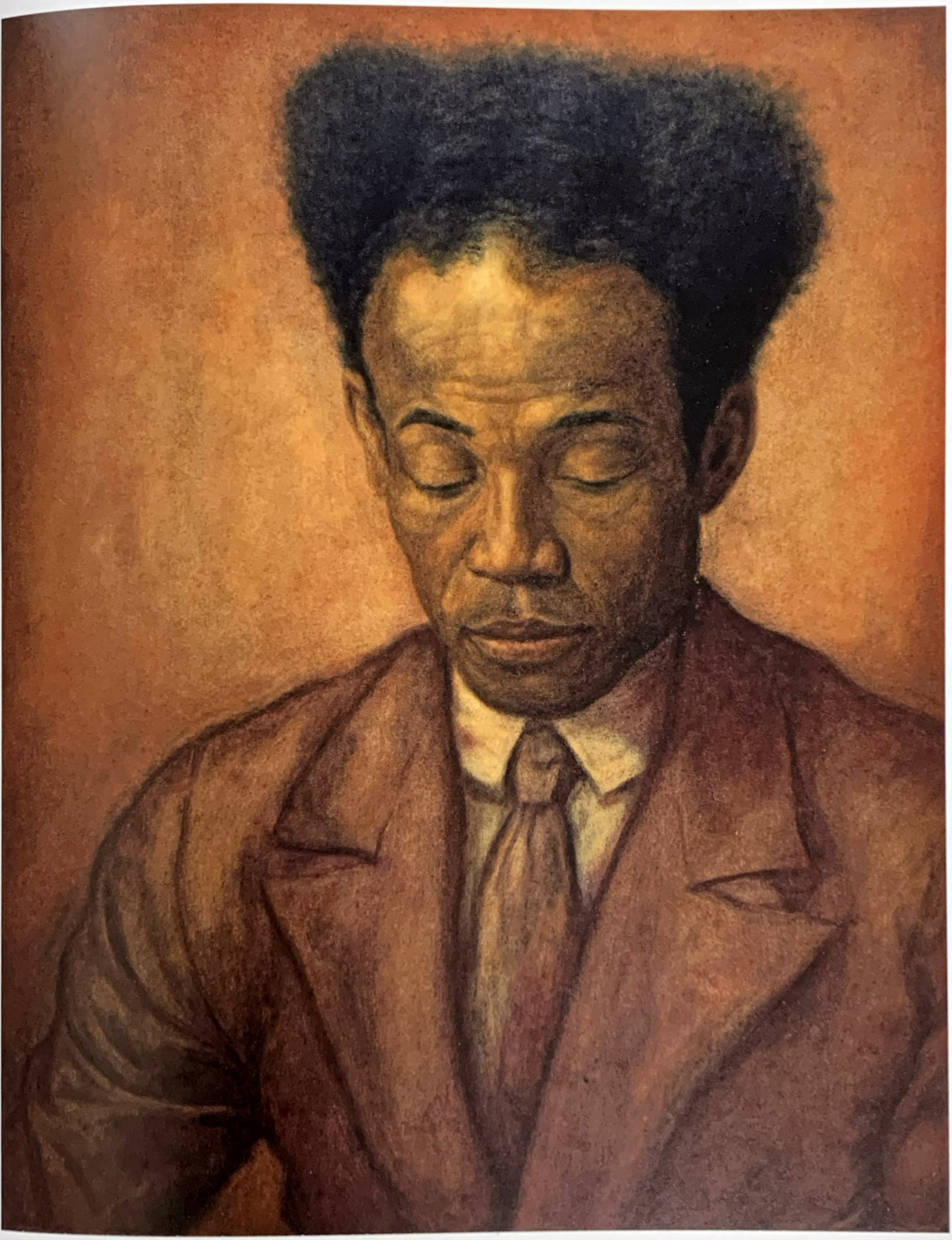
88. Jacob Epstein, *Paul Robeson*, 1928

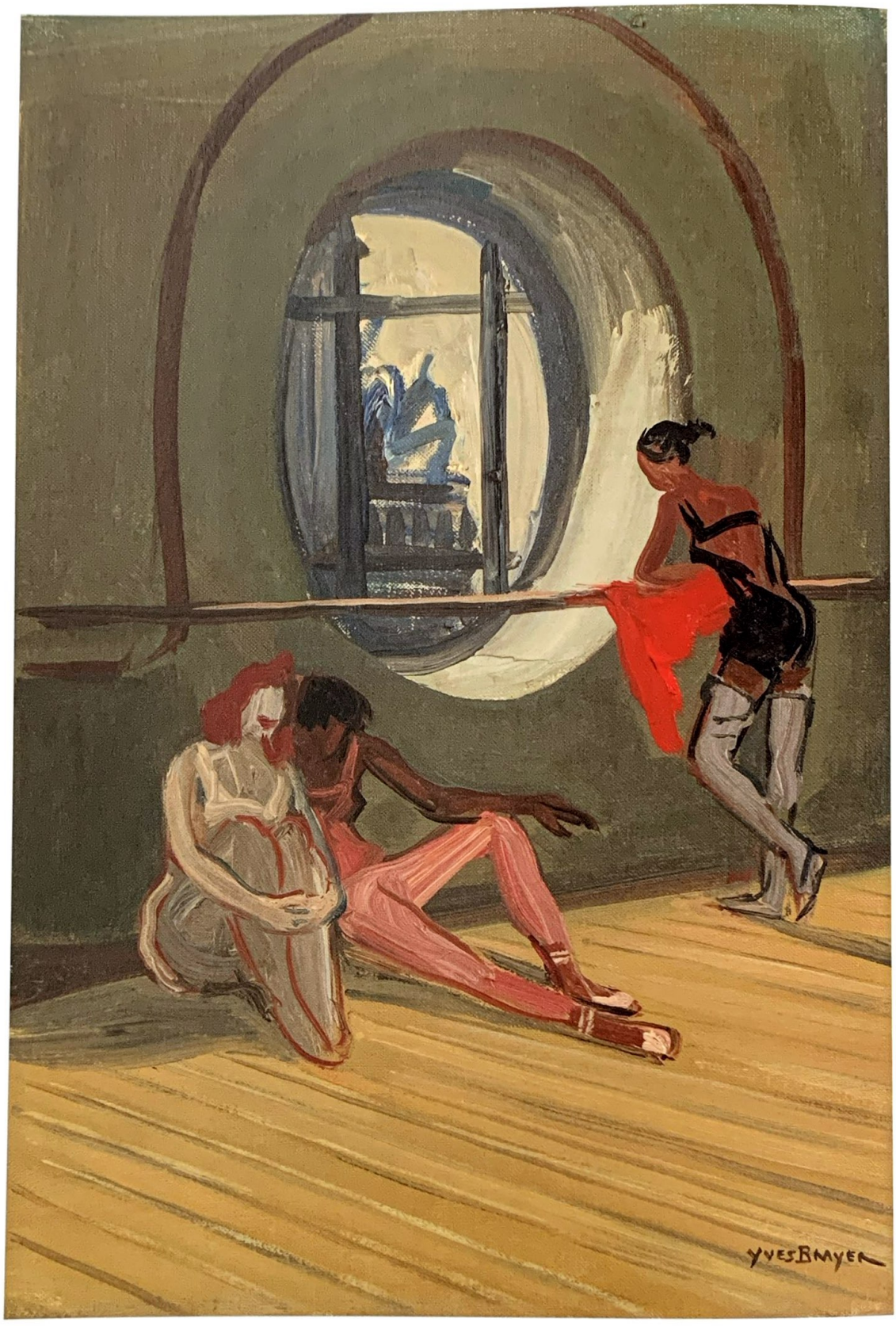
89. Adolf de Meyer, *Josephine Baker*, 1925–26

90. Laura Wheeler Waring, *Marian Anderson*, 1944

LAURA WARING

91. Jan Adriaan Donker Duyvis, *Anton de Kom*, 1938





92. Yves Brayer, *Ballet Dancers in the Attic Rotunda, Paris Opéra*, 1942

93. James Van Der Zee, *Identical Twins*, 1924

94. Carl Van Vechten, *Bessie Smith Holding Feathers*, 1936

95. William H. Johnson, *Jitterbugs V*, ca. 1941–42

96. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Nightlife*, 1943

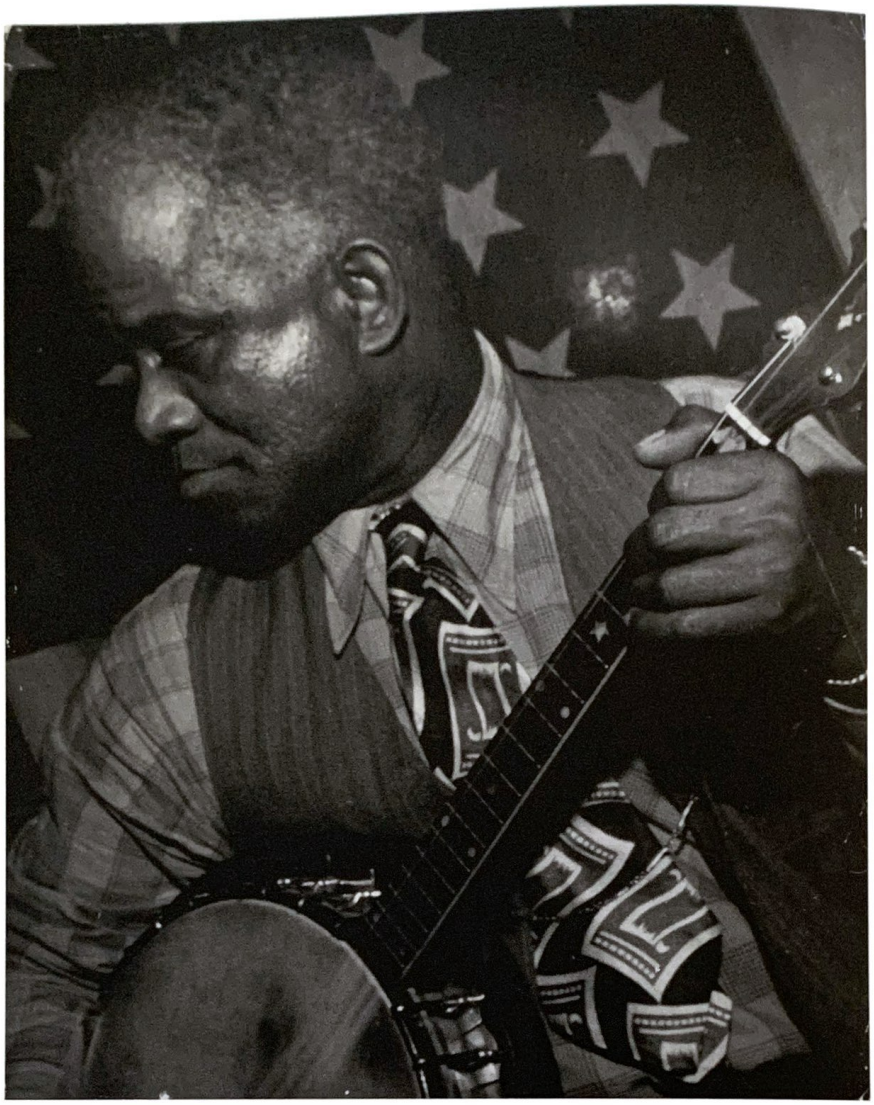
97. William H. Johnson, *Jitterbugs II*, ca. 1941

98. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Carnival*, 1937

99. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Black Belt*, 1934

100. Palmer Hayden, *Beale Street Blues*, 1943

START SOMETHING



101. Lisette Model, *Lawrence Marrero*, 1945–46

102. Malvin Gray Johnson, *Harmony*, ca. 1934

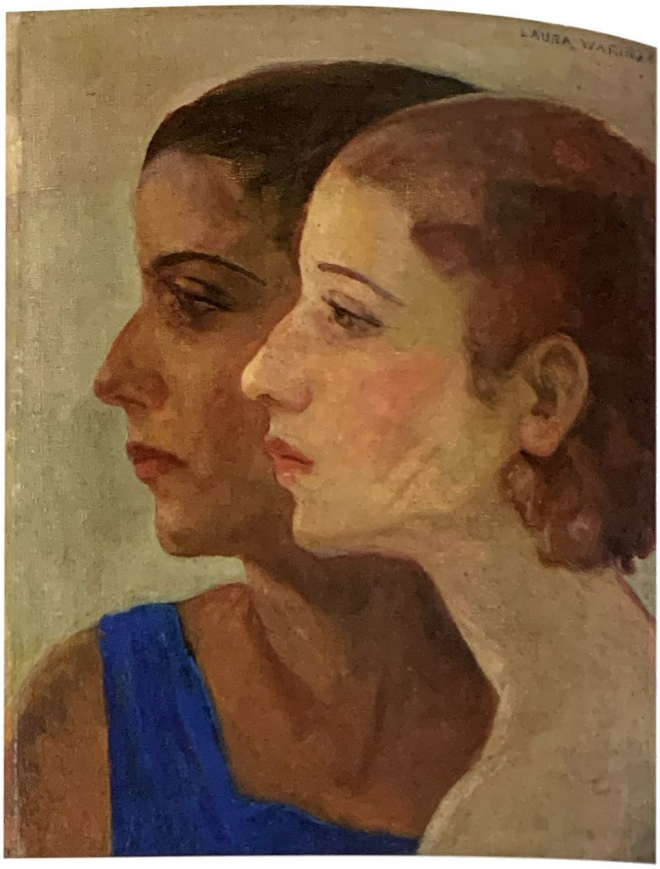
103. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *Brown Girl After the Bath*, 1931

104. James Van Der Zee, *Nude*, 1923

105. Winold Reiss, *Two Public School Teachers*, 1925

106. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., *The Octoroon Girl*, 1925

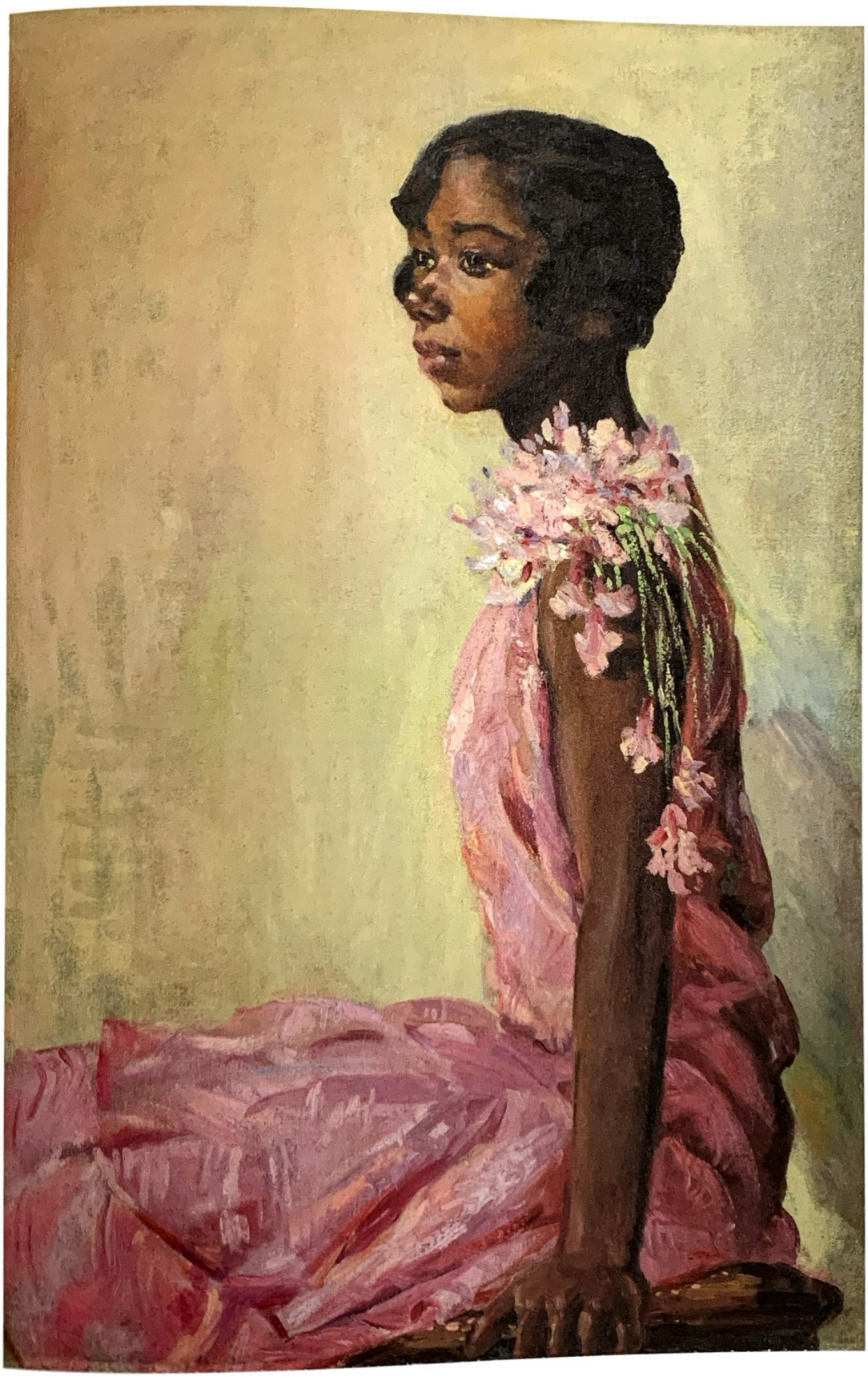
A. V. McTELEY. VR.
1927



107. Laura Wheeler Waring, *Self-Portrait*, 1940

108. Laura Wheeler Waring, *Mother and Daughter*, ca. 1927

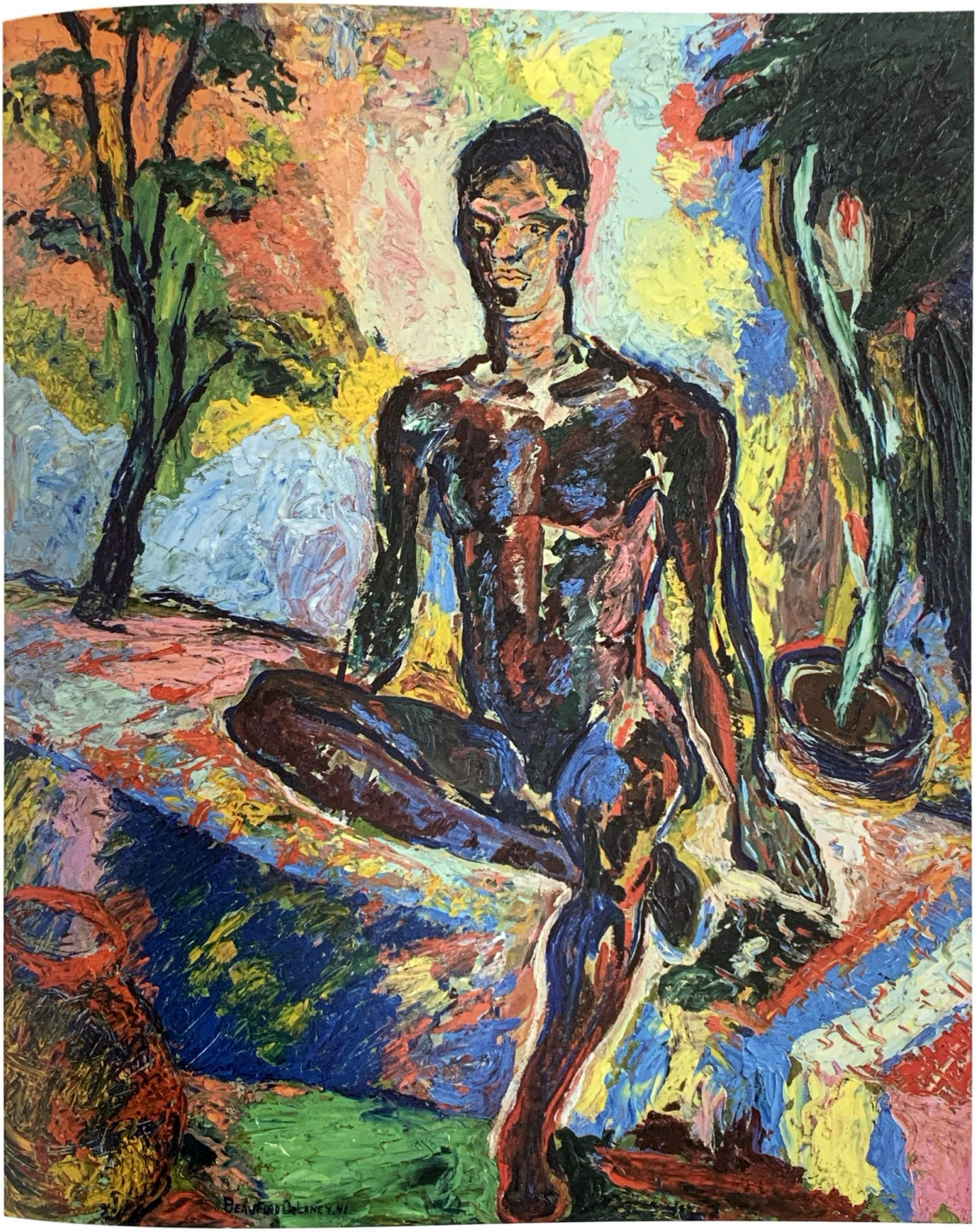
109. Laura Wheeler Waring, *Girl in Pink Dress*, ca. 1927



110. Miguel Covarrubias, *Black Woman Wearing a Blue Hat and Dress*, 1927

111. Laura Wheeler Waring, *Girl with Pomegranate*, ca. 1940

112. Beauford Delaney, *Dark Rapture*, 1941


BEAUFORD DELANEY '41

VANDERZEE
N.Y.C.
1929

113. James Van Der Zee, *Person in Fur-Trimmed Ensemble*, 1926

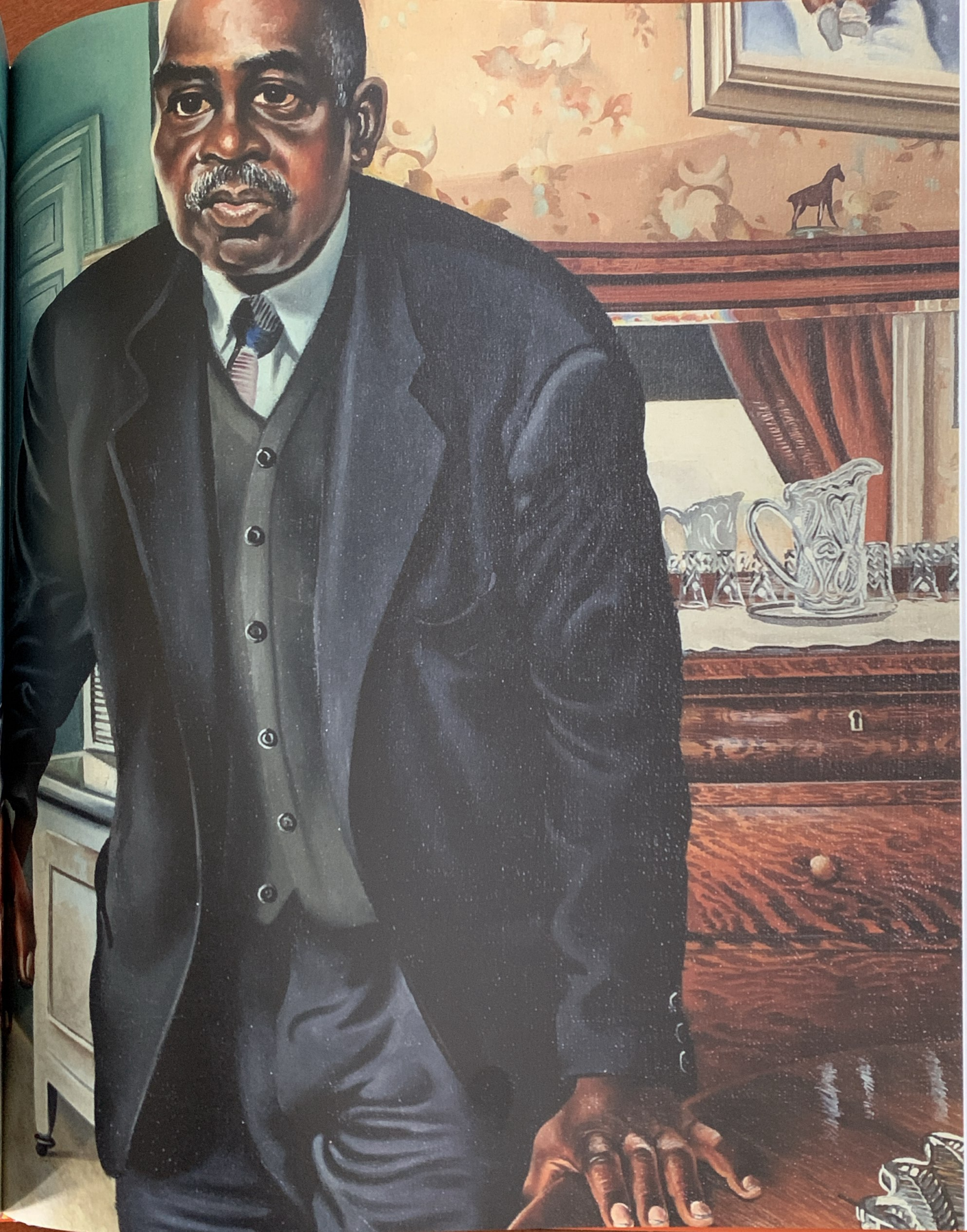
114. Richard Bruce Nugent, *Untitled (Two Women)*, from the *Salome* series, 1930

115. Richmond Barthé, *Féral Benga*, 1935–36

116. Teodoro Ramos Blanco, *Langston Hughes*, 1930s

117. William H. Johnson, *Mom and Dad*, 1944

118. John N. Robinson, *Mr. and Mrs. Barton*, 1942



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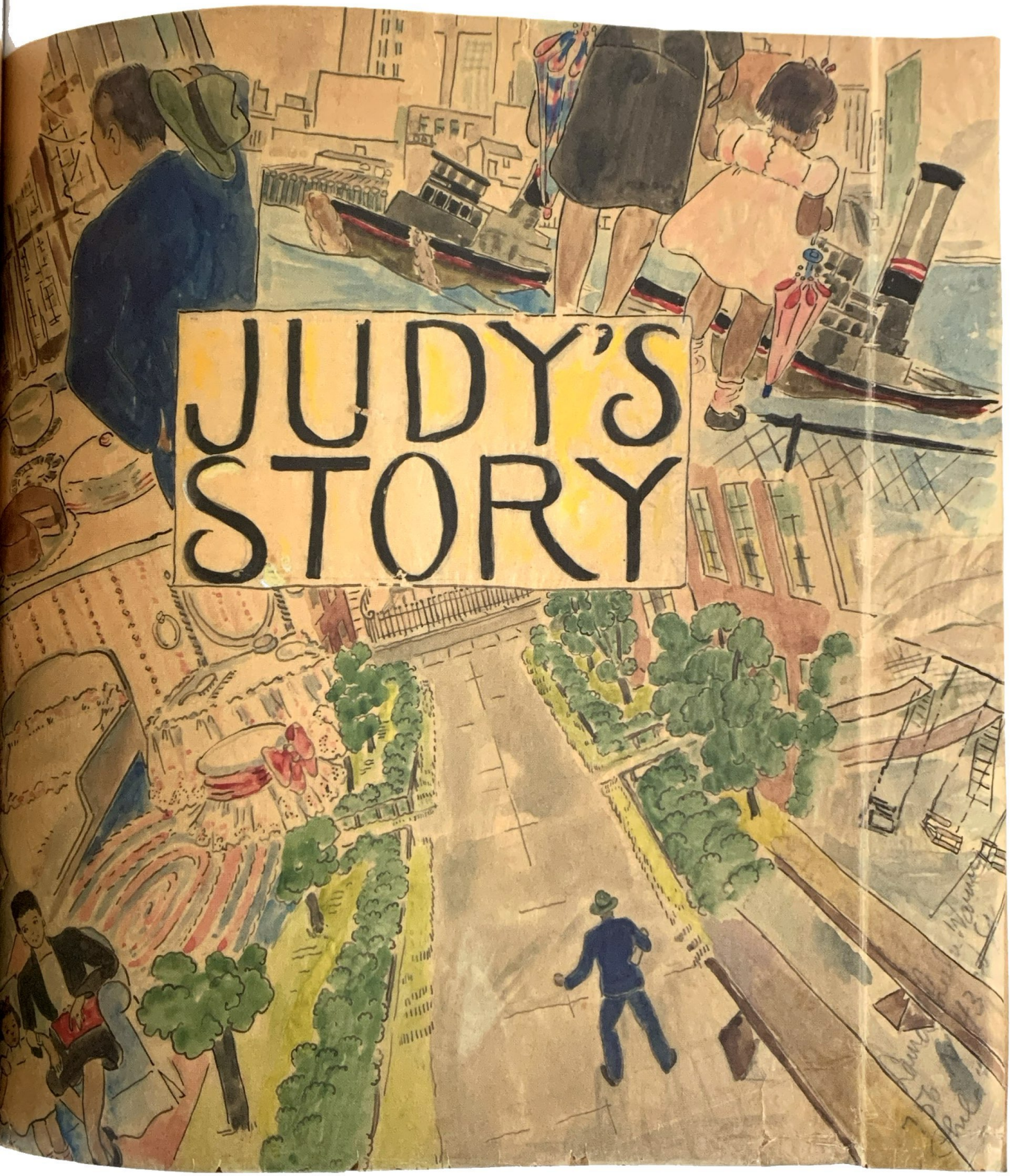
JUDY'S
STORY

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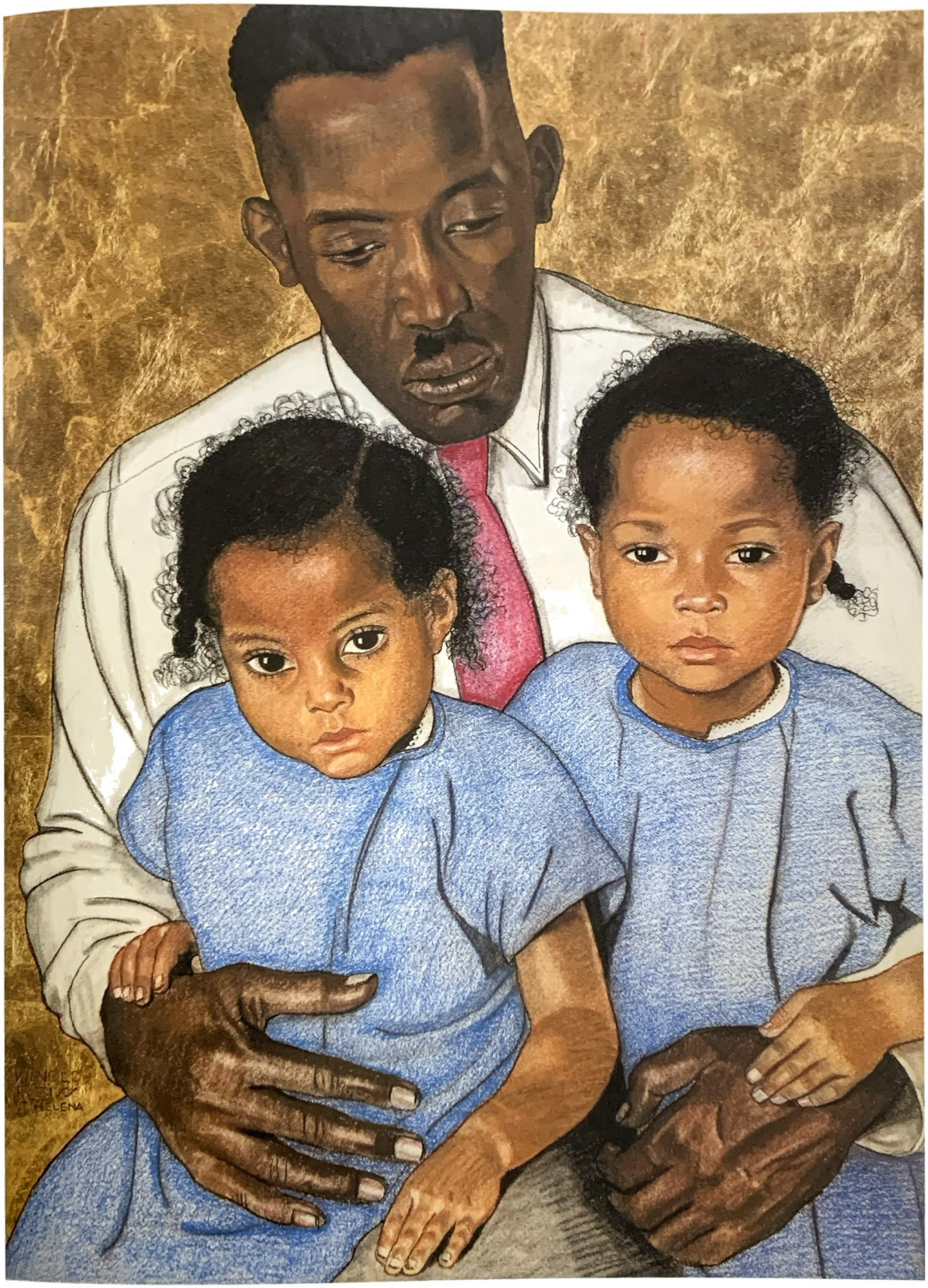

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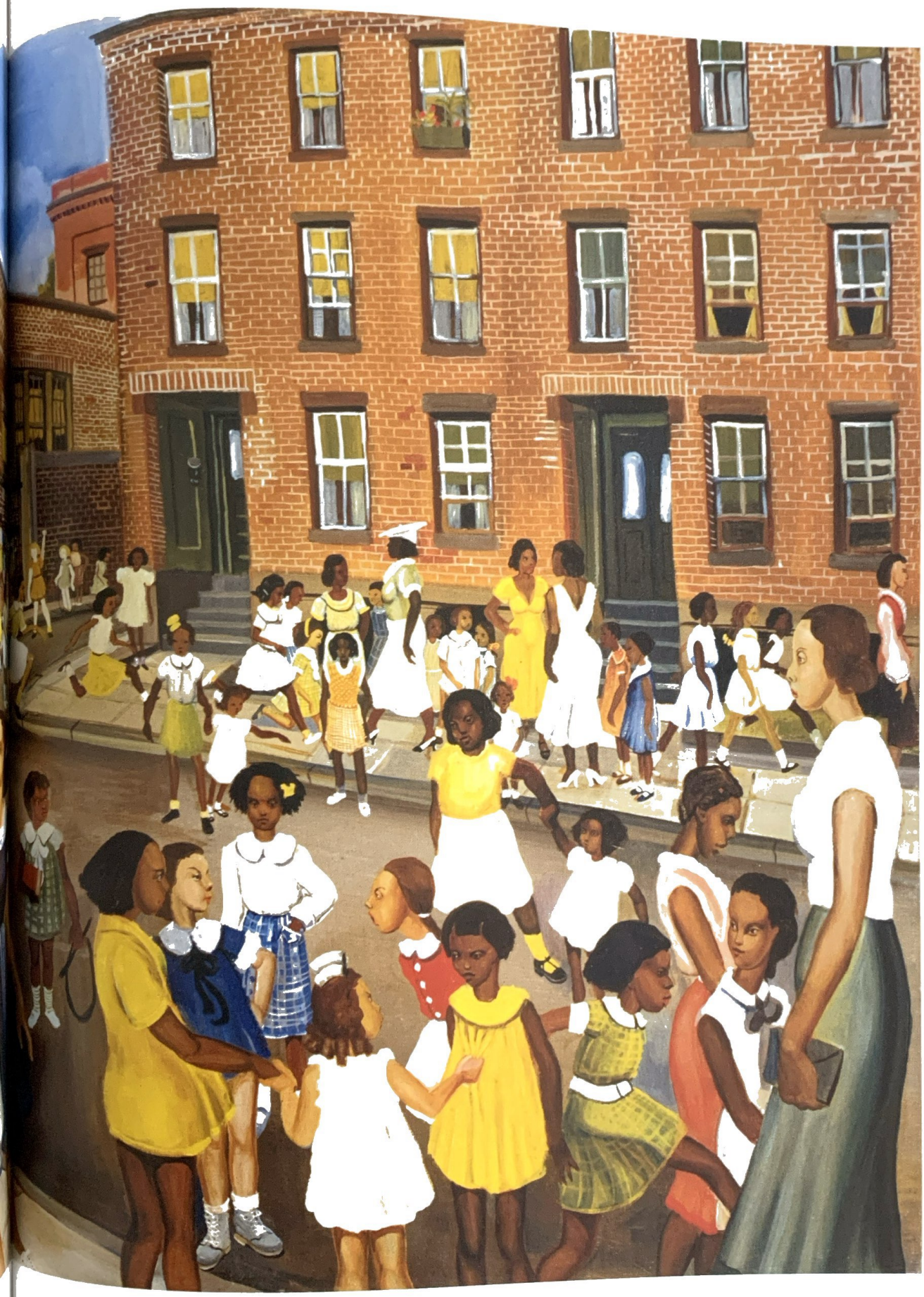

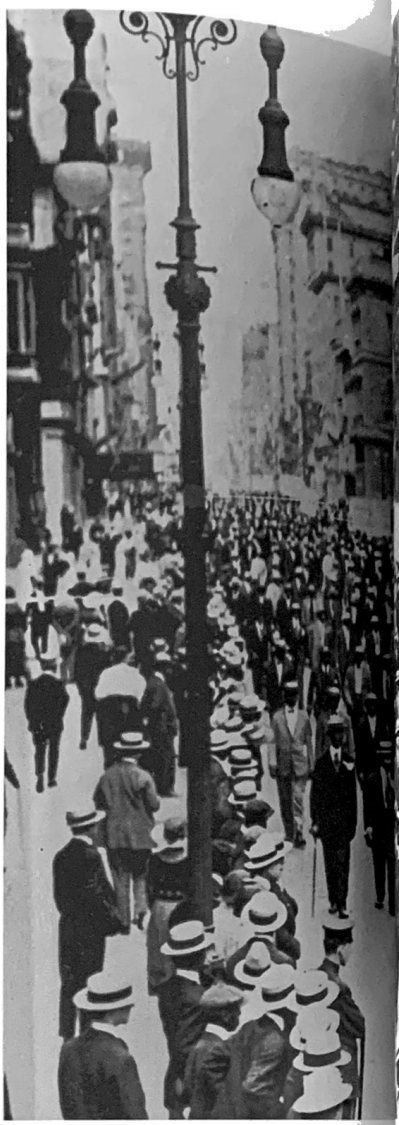

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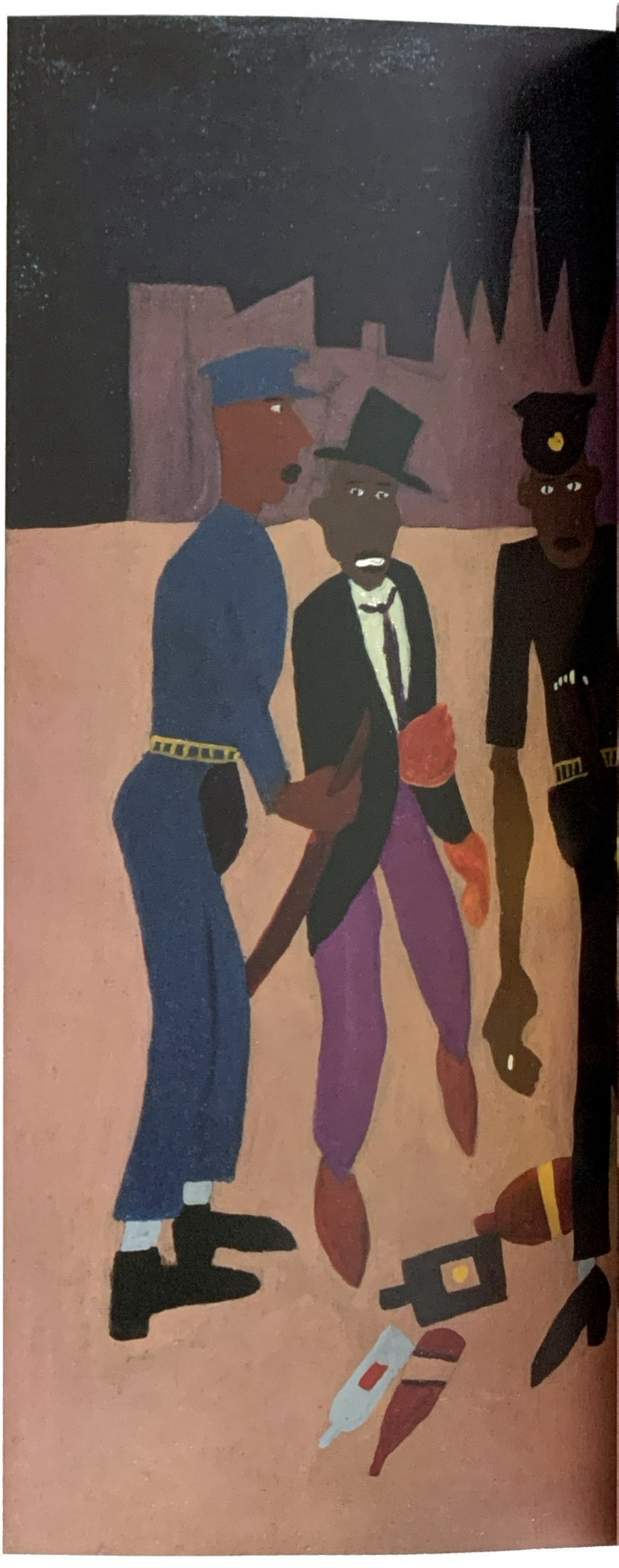
WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF
EVIDENT THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED
EQUAL THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR
CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE
RIGHTS THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE
LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS
IF OF AFRICAN DESCENT TEAR OFF THIS



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W.H. Johnson

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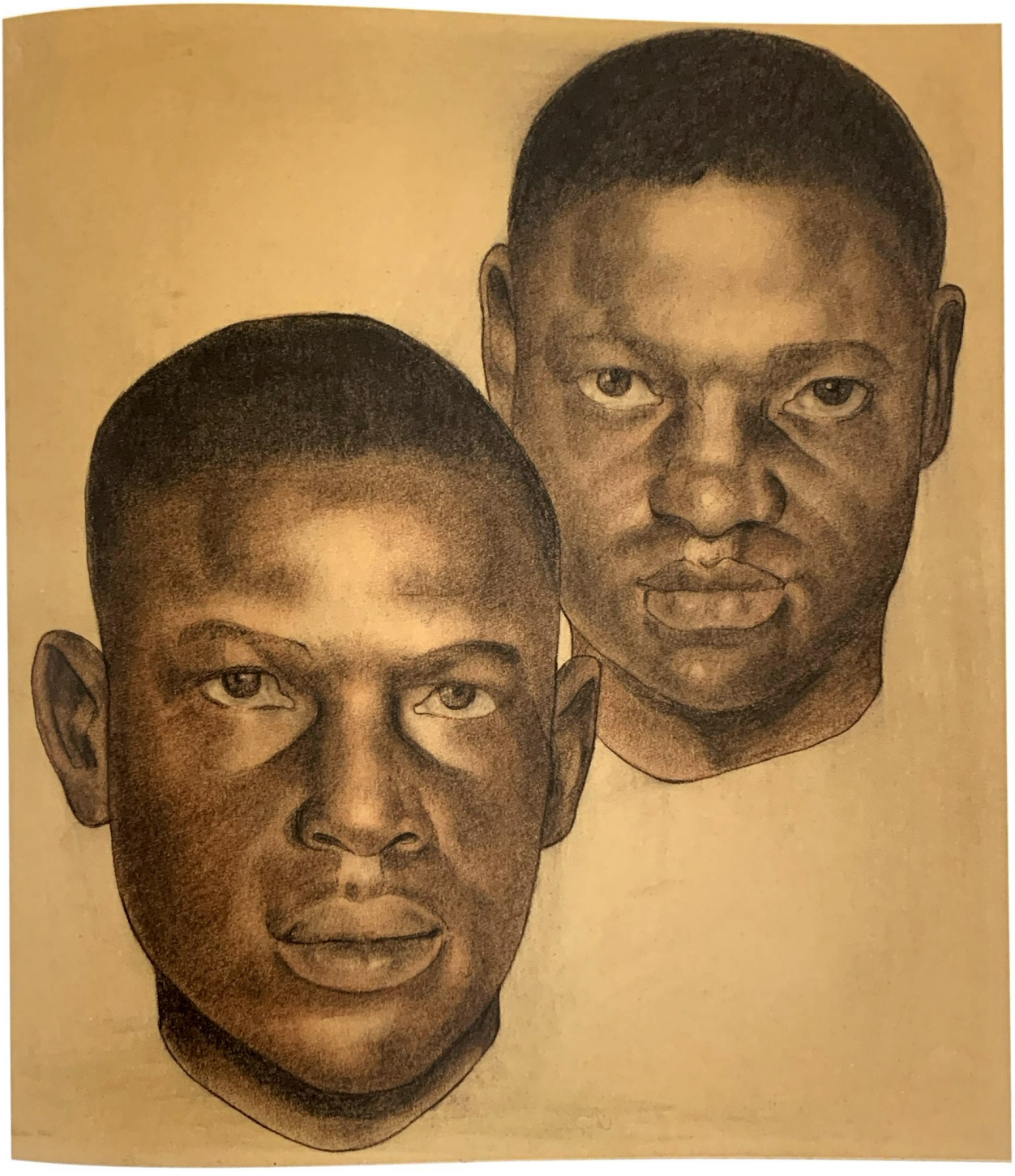

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SUNRISE RAPTIST

MIRROR BARBER SHOP

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3. Edwin Harleston (American, 1882–1931), *Aaron Douglas*, 1930. Oil on canvas, 32 × 28 in. (81.3 × 71.1 cm). Carolina Art Association/Gibbes Museum of Art, Charleston, South Carolina

4. Winold Reiss (American, born Germany, 1886–1953), *Langston Hughes*, 1925. Pastel on illustration board, 35 × 27 ¼ in. (88.9 × 69.2 cm). National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Gift of W. Tjark Reiss, in memory of his father, Winold Reiss (72.82)

5. Winold Reiss (American, born Germany, 1886–1953), *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 1925. Pastel on illustration paper, 29 15/16 × 21 5/8 in. (76 × 55 cm). National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Purchase funded by Lawrence A. Fleischman and Howard Garfinkle with a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Arts (72.79)

6. Laura Wheeler Waring (American, 1887–1948), *James Weldon Johnson*, 1943. Oil on canvas, 36 1/2 × 30 in. (92.7 × 76.2 cm). National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.; Gift of the Harmon Foundation (67.40)

7. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Couple, Harlem*, 1932. Gelatin silver print (printed later), 8 × 9 15/16 in. (20.3 × 25.2 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Donna Van Der Zee, 2021 (2021.446.1.2)

8. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Street Life, Harlem*, ca. 1939–40. Oil on plywood, 45 5/8 × 38 5/8 in. (116 × 98 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; Gift of the Harmon Foundation (1967.59.674)

9. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *The Liar*, 1936. Oil on canvas, 32 × 36 in. (81.3 × 91.4 cm). Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (47.23.P)

10. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *The Plotters*, 1933. Oil on canvas, 36 × 40 in. (91.4 × 101.6 cm). Collection of Walter O. and Linda Evans

11. Jacob Lawrence (American, 1917–2000), *Pool Parlor*, 1942. Watercolor and gouache on paper, 31 1/8 × 22 1/8 in. (79.1 × 58.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Arthur Hoppock Hearn Fund, 1942 (42.167)

12. Ernest Crichlow (American, 1914–2005), *Anyone's Date*, 1940. Gouache on linen, 9 × 7 in. (22.9 × 17.8 cm). Collection of Harmon and Harriet Kelley

13. Hale Woodruff (American, 1900–1980), *The Card Players*, 1930. Oil on canvas, 23 1/2 × 29 3/8 in. (59.7 × 74.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; George A. Hearn Fund, 2015 (2015.223)

14. Palmer Hayden (American, 1890–1973), *Nous Quatre à Paris (We Four in Paris)*, ca. 1930. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 21 3/4 × 18 1/8 in. (55.2 × 46 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Joseph H. Hazen Foundation Inc. Gift, 1975 (1975.125)

15. Jacob Lawrence (American, 1917–2000), *The Photographer*, 1942. Watercolor, gouache, and graphite on paper, 22 1/8 × 30 1/2 in. (56.2 × 77.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2001 (2001.205)

16. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Parade, Harlem*, 1920s. Gelatin silver print, sheet 8 × 10 in. (20.3 × 25.4 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Alfred Stieglitz Society Gifts, Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gift, Joyce F. Menschel Fund, and Ford Foundation Gift, 2021 (2021.443.54)

17. Malvin Gray Johnson (American, 1896–1934), *Elks Marching*, 1934. Oil on canvas, 22 × 25 in. (55.9 × 63.5 cm). Amistad Research Center, New Orleans

18. Malvin Gray Johnson (American, 1896–1934), *Jenkins Band*, 1934. Oil on canvas, 30 × 38 in. (76.2 × 96.5 cm). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Arts and Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (PA.X.019.1)

19. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Bride*, 1937. Gelatin silver print, 9 1/2 × 7 5/8 in. (24.2 × 19.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of James Van Der Zee Institute, 1970 (1970.539.4)

20. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Funeral Portrait with "Goin' Home" Sheet Music*, 1932. Gelatin silver print, sheet 8 × 10 in. (20.3 × 25.4 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Alfred Stieglitz Society Gifts, Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gift, Joyce F. Menschel Fund, and Ford Foundation Gift, 2021 (2021.443.45)

21. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Group of Women*, 1940. Gelatin silver print, sheet 10 × 8 in. (25.4 × 20.3 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Alfred Stieglitz Society Gifts, Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gift, Joyce F. Menschel Fund, and Ford Foundation Gift, 2021 (2021.443.359)

22. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Portrait of a Family*, 1934. Gelatin silver print, sheet 10 × 8 in. (25.4 × 20.3 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Alfred Stieglitz Society Gifts, Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gift, Joyce F. Menschel Fund, and Ford Foundation Gift, 2021 (2021.443.252)

23. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Luncheon Party, Harlem*, 1927. Gelatin silver print, 7½ × 9½ in. (19.1 × 24.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of James Van Der Zee Institute, 1970 (1970.539.11)

24. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Tea Time at Madam C. J. Walker's Beauty Salon*, 1929. Gelatin silver print, 7½ × 9⅝ in. (19.1 × 24.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of James Van Der Zee Institute, 1970 (1970.539.10)

25. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Picnic*, 1934. Oil on canvas, 30 × 36 in. (76.2 × 91.4 cm). Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (47.22.P)

26. Bert Hurley (American, 1898–1955), page from *Loose Nuts: A Rapsody in Brown*, 1933. Pen and black ink, brush and black ink, crayon, watercolor, and graphite, 11 × 17 in. (27.9 × 43.2 cm). Speed Art Museum, Louisville; Gift of Dr. Wade Hall and partial purchase (2001.6)

27. Bert Hurley (American, 1898–1955), page from *Loose Nuts: A Rapsody in Brown*, 1933. Pen and black ink, brush and black ink, crayon, watercolor, and graphite, 11 × 17 in. (27.9 × 43.2 cm). Speed Art Museum, Louisville; Gift of Dr. Wade Hall and partial purchase (2001.6)

28. Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr. (American, 1907–1994), *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1941. Watercolor, charcoal, and graphite on paper, 20¼ × 15⅜ in. (51.4 × 39.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Pennsylvania W. P. A., 1943 (43.46.4)

29. Charles Henry Alston (American, 1907–1977). *Girl in a Red Dress*, 1934. Oil on canvas, 28 × 22 in. (71.1 × 55.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift and George A. Hearn Fund, 2021 (2021.25)

30. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Woman in Blue*, ca. 1943. Oil on burlap, 35 × 27 in. (88.9 × 68.6 cm). Clark Atlanta University Art Museum; Permanent Loan from the National Collection of Fine Art (1969.013)

31. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Portrait of a Cultured Lady (Edna Powell Gayle)*, 1948. Oil on canvas, 39½ × 32 (100.3 × 81.3 cm). Courtesy Michael Rosenfeld Gallery, New York

32. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Portrait of the Artist's Father*, ca. 1922. Oil on canvas, 36 × 29 in. (91.4 × 73.7 cm). Collection of Mara Motley, MD, and Valerie Gerrard Browne

33. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Man in a Vest*, 1939–40. Oil on canvas, 30 × 24 in. (76.2 × 61 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C. (1967.59.1118)

34. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *The Barefoot Prophet*, 1929. Gelatin silver print (printed later), 9½ × 7⅜ in. (24.1 × 18.8 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Donna Van Der Zee, 2021 (2021.446.1.6)

35. Winold Reiss (American, born Germany, 1886–1953), *The Actress*, 1925. Pastel on illustration board, 29 × 20½ in. (73.4 × 52.1 cm). Fisk University Galleries, Nashville (1952.3)

36. Laura Wheeler Waring (American, 1887–1948), *Girl in Green Cap*, 1930. Oil on canvas, 30 × 25 in. (76.2 × 63.5 cm). Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (43.6.P)

37. Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr. (American, 1907–1994), *Mrs. Simmons*, ca. 1936. Watercolor and pencil on paper mounted on paperboard, 29⅞ × 20¾ in. (75.9 × 52.6 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; Transfer from General Services Administration (1971.447.14)

38. Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr. (American, 1907–1994), *Smoking My Pipe*, 1934. Watercolor over graphite, 19 × 15¼ in. (48.3 × 38.7 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art; Public Works of Art Project, on long-term loan to the Philadelphia Museum of Art from the Fine Arts Collection, U.S. General Services Administration, 1934 (36-1934-6)

39. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Triple Self-Portrait*, 1944. Oil on board, 27 × 33 in. (68.6 × 83.8 cm). Hampton University Museum, Virginia (68.1.6)

40. Samuel Joseph Brown, Jr. (American, 1907–1994), *Girl in Blue Dress*, 1936. Watercolor on paper, 30½ × 21½ in. (77.5 × 54.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Pennsylvania W. P. A., 1943 (43.46.13)

41. Elizabeth Catlett (American and Mexican, 1915–2012), *Head of a Woman (Woman)*, 1942–44. Oil on canvas, 12 × 10 in. (30.5 × 25.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Gift of Continental Group, by exchange, 2018 (2018.157)

42. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1920. Oil on canvas, 30⅛ × 22⅛ in. (76.3 × 56 cm). Art Institute of Chicago; Through prior acquisitions of Friends of American Art Collection; through prior bequest of Marguerita S. Ritman (1995.239)

43. Malvin Gray Johnson (American, 1896–1934), *Self-Portrait*, 1934. Oil on canvas, 38¼ × 30 in. (97.2 × 76.2 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; Gift of the Harmon Foundation (1967.57.30)

44. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Self-Portrait with Gaynella Greenlee*, 1920s. Gelatin silver print, sheet 10 × 8 in. (25.4 × 20.3 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Louis V. Bell,Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Alfred Stieglitz Society Gifts, Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gift, Joyce F. Menschel Fund, and Ford Foundation Gift, 2021 (2021.443.31)

45. Palmer Hayden (American, 1890–1973), *The Janitor Who Paints*, ca. 1937, repainted after 1940. Oil on canvas, 39⅛ × 32 15⁄16 in. (99.3 × 83.6 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; Gift of the Harmon Foundation (1967.57.28)

46. Horace Pippin (American, 1888–1946), *The Artist's Wife*, 1936. Oil on linen, 22¾ × 16¾ in. (60.3 × 42.5 cm). Harmon and Harriet Kelley Foundation for the Arts

47. Horace Pippin (American, 1888–1946), *Self-Portrait II*, 1944. Oil on canvas, adhered to cardboard, 8½ × 6½ in. (21.6 × 16.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Jane Kendall Gingrich, 1982 (1982.55.7)

48. Aaron Douglas (American, 1899–1979), *The Creation*, 1935. Oil on Masonite, 47 × 30 in. (119.4 × 76.2 cm). Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (47.17.P)

49. Aaron Douglas (American, 1899–1979), *Noah Built the Ark*, 1935. Oil on Masonite, 46 × 36 in. (116.8 × 91.4 cm). Fisk University Galleries, Nashville (1991.2118)

50. Aaron Douglas (American, 1899–1979), *Let My People Go*, ca. 1935–39. Oil on Masonite, 48 × 36 in. (121.9 × 91.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2015 (2015.42)

51. Aaron Douglas (American, 1899–1979), *The Judgement Day*, 1939. Oil on tempered hardboard, 48 × 36 in. (121.9 × 91.4 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.; Patrons' Permanent Fund, The Avalon Fund (2014.135.1)

52. Aaron Douglas (American, 1899–1979), *Aspects of Negro Life: From Slavery to Reconstruction*, 1934. Oil on canvas, 60 in. × 11 ft. 11 in. (152.4 × 363.2 cm). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Art and Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (PA.34.001.3)

53. Aaron Douglas (American, 1899–1979), *Building More Stately Mansions*, 1944. Oil on canvas, 54 × 42 in. (137.2 × 106.7 cm). Fisk University Galleries, Nashville (1991.204)

54. Aaron Douglas (American, 1899–1979), *Aspiration*, 1936. Oil on canvas, 60 × 60 in. (152.4 × 152.4 cm). Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Museum purchase, the estate of Thurlow E. Tibbs Jr., the Museum Society Auxiliary, American Art Trust Fund, Unrestricted Art Trust Fund, partial gift of Dr. Ernest A. Bates, Sharon Bell, Jo-Ann Beverly, Barbara Carleton, Dr. And Mrs. Arthur H. Coleman, Dr. and Mrs. Coyness Ennix, Jr., Nicole Y. Ennix, Mr. and Mrs. Gary Francois, Dennis L. Franklin, Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell C. Gillette, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Goodyear, Zuretti L. Goosby, Marion E. Greene, Mrs. Vivian S. W. Hambrick, Laurie Gibbs Harris, Arlene Hollis, Louis A. and Letha Jeanpierre, Daniel and Jackie Johnson, Jr., Stephen L. Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Lathan, Lewis & Ribbs Mortuary Garden Chapel, Mr. and Mrs. Gary Love, Glenn R. Nance, Mr. and Mrs. Harry S. Parker III, Mr. and Mrs. Carr T. Preston, Fannie Preston, Pamela R. Ransom, Dr. and Mrs. Benjamin F. Reed, San Francisco Black Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco Chapter of Links, Inc., San Francisco Chapter of the N.A.A.C.P., Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity, Dr. Ella Mae Simmons, Mr. Calvin R. Swinson, Joseph B. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, and the people of the San Francisco Bay Area (1997.84)

55. Sargent Claude Johnson (American, 1888–1967), *Mask*, 1934. Copper and enamel, 9⅞ × 7⅞ × 1¾ in. (25.1 × 20 × 4.4 cm). Museum of Fine Art, Boston; The John Axelrod Collection—Frank B. Bemis Fund, Charles H. Bayley Fund, and The Heritage Fund for a Diverse Collection (2011.1812)

56. William Artis (American, 1914–1977), *Woman with Kerchief*, 1939. Ceramic, 9½ × 8¼ × 9 in. (24.1 × 21 × 22.9 cm). Clark Atlanta University Art Museum; Edward B. Alford, Jr., Purchase Award, Sculpture (1944.007)

57. Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller (American, 1877–1968), *Maquette for "Ethiopia Awakening,"* 1921. Painted plaster, 13⅞ × 3½ × 3¼ in. (35.3 × 8.9 × 8.3 cm). Danforth Art Museum at Framingham State University, Massachusetts; Gift of the Meta V. W. Fuller Trust (2006.331)

58. Hale Woodruff (American, 1900–1980), *The Art of the Negro: Artists (Study)*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 23 × 21 in. (58.4 × 53.3 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts; Museum Purchase, W. Hawkins Ferry Fund, Richard and Jane Manoogian Foundation, and Friends of African and African American Art (2004.14)

59. Palmer Hayden (American, 1890–1973), *Fétiche et Fleurs*, 1932. Oil on canvas, 23 × 29½ in. (58.4 × 74.9 cm). The Museum of African American Art, Los Angeles

60. Augusta Savage (American, 1892–1962), *Lift Every Voice and Sing (The Harp)*, 1939. Bonded bronze, 10½ × 3 × 7 in. (26.7 × 7.6 × 17.8 cm). University of North Florida, Jacksonville; Thomas G. Carpenter Library, Special Collections and Archives, Eartha M.M. White Collection

61. Richmond Barthé (American, 1901–1989), *Boxer*, 1942. Bronze, 18¼ × 7 × 12 in. (46.4 × 17.8 × 30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1942 (42.180)

62. Henri Matisse (French, 1869–1954), *Aïcha and Lorette (Aïcha et Lorette)*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 14¼ × 18 in. (36.2 × 45.7 cm). Private collection

63. Margaret Taylor Goss-Burroughs (American, 1917–2010), *Friends*, 1942. Lithograph, 14⅞ × 9 in. (37.8 × 22.9 cm). Clark Atlanta University Art Museum; Third Atlanta University Purchase Award, Prints (1945.011)

64. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Café, Paris*, 1929. Oil on canvas, 23⅝ × 28⅞ in. (60 × 73.3 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts (2018.71)

65. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Jockey Club*, 1929. Oil on canvas, 26 × 31⅞ in. (66 × 81 cm). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Art and Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (PA.73.001.3)

66. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Dans la rue*, 1929. Oil on canvas, 23.8 × 28.5 in. (61 × 73.5 cm). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Art and Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (PA.73.001.4)

67. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Blues*, 1929. Oil on canvas, 36 × 42 in. (91.4 × 106.7 cm). Collection of Mara Motley, MD, and Valerie Gerrard Browne

68. Roland Penrose (British, 1900–1984), *Four Women Asleep (Lee Miller, Ady Fidelin, Nusch Eluard, and Leonora Carrington), Lambe Creek, Cornwall, England*, 1937. C-type digital print from scan of original transparency, 13 15/16 × 10 15/16 in. (35.4 × 27.8 cm). Lee Miller Archives, East Sussex, England

69. Henri Matisse (French, 1869–1954), *Woman in White (Dame à la robe blanche)*, 1946. Oil on canvas, 38 × 23¾ in. (96.5 × 60.3 cm). Des Moines Art Center, Iowa; Gift of John and Elizabeth Bates Cowles (1959.40)

70. Henri Matisse (French, 1869–1954), *Asia (L'Asie)*, 1946. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 32 in. (116.2 × 81.3 cm). Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (APg 1993.01)

71. Edvard Munch (Norwegian, 1863–1944), *Abdul Karim with a Green Scarf*, 1916. Oil on canvas, 43⅜ × 32⅜ in. (110.1 × 82.2 cm). Munch Museum, Oslo (MM.M.00261)

72. Nola Hatterman (Dutch, 1899–1984), *Louis Richard Drenthe/On the Terrace*, 1930. Oil on canvas, 39⅜ × 35⅜ in. (100 × 90 cm). Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam (A1163)

73. Kees van Dongen (Dutch, 1877–1968), *White Feathers (Plumes blanches)*, 1910–12. Oil on canvas, 39⅜ × 31⅞ in. (100 × 80.7 cm). Private collection

74. Henri Matisse (French, 1869–1954), *Madagascar*, 1943. Indian ink, 20 1/16 × 15¾ in. (51.5 × 40 cm). Courtesy Galerie Dina Vierny, Paris

75. Pablo Picasso (Spanish, 1881–1973), *"Negro, negro, negro...," Portrait of Aimé Césaire, Laureate*, plate following title page from *Corps perdu (The Lost Body)*, 1949 (published 1950). Drypoint from an illustrated book with twenty engravings, sheet 15⅜ × 11⅛ in. (39 × 28.2 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York; The Louis E. Stern Collection

76. Henri Matisse (French, 1869–1954), *Martiniquaise*, study for *Fleurs du Mal*, 1946. Chine collé; sheet, 11¼ × 8⅞ in. (28.6 × 22.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Pierre and Maria-Gaetana Matisse Collection, 2002 (2002.456.88)

77. Pablo Picasso (Spanish, 1881–1973), *Minotaur and Woman (Minotaure et femme)*, 1937. Oil on canvas, 13 × 8 1/16 in. (33 × 22 cm). Private collection

78. Man Ray (American, 1890–1976). *Adrienne Fidelin and Nusch in Martinician Costume*, 1937. Gelatin silver print, 5¼ × 3½ in. (13.2 × 8.8 cm). Collection of Spike Lee/Filmmaker

79. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Vieille Maison at Porte*, ca. 1927. Oil on burlap, 24 × 20 ¼ in. (61 × 51 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D. C. (1967.59.694)

80. Chaim Soutine (French, born Lithuania, 1893–1943), *View of Cagnes*, ca. 1924–25. Oil on canvas, 23 ¾ × 28 ⅞ in. (60.3 × 73.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Mr. and Mrs. Klaus G. Perls Collection, 1997 (1997.149.2)

81. Germaine Casse (French, 1881–1967), *Rade de Pointe à Pitre*, 1920. Oil on canvas, 18 5/16 × 25 13/16 in. (46.5 × 65.5 cm). Musée de Quai Branly—Jacques Chirac, Paris (75.15511)

82. Hale Woodruff (American, 1900–1980), *Twilight*, ca. 1926. Oil on pressed paperboard, 28 ¼ × 33 ½ in. (71.8 × 85.1 cm). Art Institute of Chicago; Through prior bequest of Marguerita S. Ritman (1993.125)

83. Laura Wheeler Waring (American, 1887–1948), *Yellow Roses*, n.d. Oil on canvas, 20 × 15 in. (50.8 × 38.1 cm). Collection of Roberta Graves

84. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Flowers*, 1939–40. Oil on plywood, 33 ½ × 25 ¾ in. (85.1 × 64.5 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; Gift of the Harmon Foundation (1967.59.602)

85. Suzanna Ogunjami (born Nigeria, active in New York 1928–34), *Full-Blown Magnolia*, 1935. Oil on burlap, 20 × 24 in. (50.8 × 61 cm). Hampton University Museum, Virginia (67.275)

86. Aaron Douglas (American, 1899–1979), *Still Life*. Watercolor and graphite, 18 ⅝ × 20 ¼ in. (47.3 × 51.4 cm). Fisk University Galleries, Nashville (1991.2191)

87. Ronald Moody (British, born Jamaica, 1900–1984), *Dr. Harold A. Moody*, 1946. Bronze on wood plinth, 11 13/16 × 7 1/16 in. (30 × 18 cm). South London Gallery Collection, managed by Southwark Council as part of the Southwark Art Collection (GA3671)

88. Jacob Epstein (British, born United States, 1880–1959), *Paul Robeson*, 1928. Bronze, 13 ½ × 9 × 12 ⅛ in. (34.2 × 22.9 × 30.8 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York; Gift of Fania Marinoff Van Vechten in memory of Carl Van Vechten

89. Adolf de Meyer (American, born France, 1868–1946), *Josephine Baker*, 1925–26. Direct carbon print, 17 13/16 × 11 ⅝ in. (45.2 × 29.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Ford Motor Company Collection, Gift of Ford Motor Company and John C. Waddell, 1987 (1987.1100.16)

90. Laura Wheeler Waring (American, 1887–1948), *Marian Anderson*, 1944. Oil on canvas, 76 × 40 ¼ in. (193 × 102.2 cm). National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.; Gift of the Harmon Foundation (67.29)

91. Jan Adriaan Donker Duyvis (Dutch, 1887–1960), *Anton de Kom*, 1938. Pastel, 30 1/16 × 24 13/16 in. (78 × 63 cm). Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam (3029-1)

92. Yves Brayer (French, 1907–1990), *Ballet Dancers in the Attic Rotunda, Paris Opéra*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 13 ¾ × 9 ⅜ in. (34.9 × 23.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.2390)

93. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Identical Twins*, 1924. Gelatin silver print, 7 ⅜ × 9 ⅜ in. (18.7 × 23.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of James Van Der Zee Institute, 1970 (1970.539.2)

94. Carl Van Vechten (American, 1880–1964), *Bessie Smith Holding Feathers*, 1936. Gelatin silver print, 13 3/16 × 10 ⅞ in. (35.3 × 27.8 cm). Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

95. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Jitterbugs V*, ca. 1941–42. Oil on board, 39 × 21 in. (99.1 × 53.3 cm). Hampton University Museum, Virginia (67.130)

96. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Nightlife*, 1943. Oil on canvas, 36 × 47 ¾ in. (91.4 × 121.3 cm). Art Institute of Chicago; Purchased with funds provided by Mr. and Mrs. Marshall Field, Jack and Sandra Guthman, Ben W. Heineman, Ruth Horwich, Lewis and Susan Manilow, Beatrice C. Mayer, Charles A. Meyer, John D. Nichols, and Mr. and Mrs. E.B. Smith Jr.; James W. Alsdorf Memorial Fund; Goodman Endowment (1992.89)

97. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Jitterbugs II*, ca. 1941. Screenprint, 17 × 13 ¾ in. (43.2 × 34.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Reba and Dave Williams, 1999 (1999.529.79)

98. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Carnival*, 1937. Oil on canvas, 30 × 40 in. (76.2 × 101.6 cm). Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (47.24.P)

99. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Black Belt*, 1934. Oil on canvas, 33 × 40 ⅝ in. (83.8 × 103.2 cm). Hampton University Museum, Virginia (67.371)

100. Palmer Hayden (American, 1890–1973), *Beale Street Blues*, 1943. Oil on canvas, 30 × 40 in. (76.2 × 101.6 cm). The Museum of African American Art, Los Angeles

101. Lisette Model (American, born Austria, 1901–1983), *Lawrence Marrero*, 1945–46. Gelatin silver print, 13⅜ × 11 in. (34.6 × 27.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Tianaderrah Foundation and Joseph M. and Barbara Cohen Foundation Inc. Gifts, 2021 (2021.84)

102. Malvin Gray Johnson (American, 1896–1934), *Harmony*, ca. 1934. Oil on canvas, 24 × 30 in. (61 × 76.2 cm). Fisk University Galleries, Nashville; Gift of the Harmon Foundation (1991.2110)

103. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Brown Girl After the Bath*, 1931. Oil on canvas, 48.3 × 36 in. (122.6 × 91.4 cm). Columbus Museum of Art, Ohio

104. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Nude, Harlem*, 1923. Gelatin silver print, 8⅛ × 6¾ in. (20.7 × 17.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of James Van Der Zee Institute, 1970 (1970.539.27)

105. Winold Reiss (American, born Germany, 1886–1953), *Two Public School Teachers*, 1925. Pastel and tempera on illustration board, 29 × 20½ in. (73.7 × 52.1 cm). Fisk University Galleries, Nashville; Gift of the Artist (1952.3.2[T])

106. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *The Octoroon Girl*, 1925. Oil on canvas, 38 × 30¼ in. (96.5 × 76.8 cm). Courtesy Michael Rosenfeld Gallery, New York

107. Laura Wheeler Waring (American, 1887–1948), *Self-Portrait*, 1940. Oil on paperboard, 22 × 19 in. (55.9 × 48.3 cm). Collection of Roberta Graves

108. Laura Wheeler Waring (American, 1887–1948), *Mother and Daughter*, 1931. Oil on canvas board, 16 × 13¾ in. (6¼ × 34.9 cm). Collection of Roberta Graves

109. Laura Wheeler Waring (American, 1887–1948), *Girl in Pink Dress*, ca. 1927. Oil on canvas, 36¼ × 26¼ in. (92.1 × 66.7 cm). Collection of Roberta Graves

110. Miguel Covarrubias (Mexican, 1904–1957), *Black Woman Wearing a Blue Hat and Dress*, 1927. Oil on canvas, 18⅛ × 15 in. (46 × 38.1 cm). Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

111. Laura Wheeler Waring (American, 1887–1948), *Girl with Pomegranate*, ca. 1940. Oil on canvas, 33⅝ × 39¾ in. (85.4 × 101 cm). Collection of Madeline Murphy Rabb

112. Beauford Delaney (American, 1901–1979), *Dark Rapture*, 1941. Oil on Masonite, 34 × 28 in. (86.4 × 71.1 cm). Collection of Michael Rosenfeld and halley k. harrisburg

113. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Person in Fur-Trimmed Ensemble*, 1926. Gelatin silver print (printed later), 9¾ × 7⅜ in. (24.8 × 18.8 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Donna Van Der Zee, 2021 (2021.446.1.25)

114. Richard Bruce Nugent (American, 1906–1987), *Untitled (Two Women)*, from the *Salome* series, 1930. Japanese dye, 11 × 8½ in. (27.9 × 21.6 cm). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Art and Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (PA.15.001.10)

115. Richmond Barthé (American, 1901–1989), *Féral Benga*, 1935–36. Bronze (cast), 18¾ × 7 × 4⅜ in. (47.6 × 17.8 × 11.1 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (2007.1)

116. Teodoro Ramos Blanco (Cuban, 1902–1972), *Langston Hughes*, 1930s. Plaster, 12½ × 7½ × 3½ in. (31.8 × 19.1 × 8.9 cm). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Art and Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (SC.32.001.1)

117. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Mom and Dad*, 1944. Oil on paperboard, 31 × 25⅜ in. (78.7 × 64.5 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; Gift of the Harmon Foundation (1967.59.1012)

118. John N. Robinson (American, 1912–1994), *Mr. and Mrs. Barton*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 43¼ × 35⅜ in. (109.9 × 89.9 cm). Clark Atlanta University Art Museum; Second Atlanta University Purchase Award, Oils (1945.004)

119. Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (American, 1891–1981), *Uncle Bob*, 1928. Oil on canvas, 40 × 36 in. (101.6 × 91.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, George A. Hearn Fund, The Ford Foundation and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, and funds from various donors, 2022 (2022.162)

120. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Mom Alice*, 1944. Oil on cardboard, 30 × 25 in. (76.2 × 63.5 cm). Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (67.15.P)

121. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Three Children*, ca. 1940. Screenprint, 16 × 11⅝ in. (40.6 × 29.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Reba and Dave Williams, 1999 (1999.529.82)

122. Augusta Savage (American, 1892–1962), *Gamin*, 1929. Bronze, H. 16½ in (41.9 cm). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Art and Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (SC.42.001.1)

123. Laura Wheeler Waring (American, 1887–1948), *Judy's Story*, n.d. Mixed media on paper; 24 pages, each approximately 9 × 12 in. (22.9 × 30.5 cm). Collection of Roberta Graves

124. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Family Group with Newspaper*, 1936. Gelatin silver print, 4 ⅝ × 6 ¾ in. (11.7 × 17.1 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Alfred Stieglitz Society Gifts, Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gift, Joyce F. Menschel Fund, and Ford Foundation Gift, 2021 (2021.443.407)

125. James Van Der Zee (American, 1886–1983), *Children at Piano*, 1932. Gelatin silver print, 7 × 5 in. (17.8 × 12.7 cm). James Van Der Zee Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Alfred Stieglitz Society Gifts, Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gift, Joyce F. Menschel Fund, and Ford Foundation Gift, 2021 (2021.443.267)

126. Winold Reiss (American, born Germany, 1886–1953), *Fred Fripp, Graduate of Penn School, Teacher, with Carol and Evelyn*, 1927. Mixed media on illustration board, 30 × 22 ½ in. (76.2 × 57.2 cm). Fisk University Galleries, Nashville (1952.3.18 [T])

127. Allan Rohan Crite (American, 1910–2007), *School's Out*, 1936. Oil on canvas, 30 ¼ × 36 ⅛ in. (76.9 × 91.8 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D. C.; Transfer from General Services Administration (1971.447.18)

128. Unknown artist, *Silent Protest Parade on Fifth Avenue, New York*, 1917. Gelatin silver print, 11 ⅛ × 14 in. (28.3 × 35.6 cm). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

129. William H. Johnson (American, 1901–1970), *Moon Over Harlem*, ca. 1943–44. Oil on plywood, 28 ½ × 35 ¾ in. (72.5 × 90.8 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; Gift of the Harmon Foundation (1967.59.577)

130. Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller (American, 1877–1968), *In Memory of Mary Turner as a Silent Protest Against Mob Violence*, 1919. Painted plaster, 20 × 7 ½ × 7 ½ in. (50.8 × 19.1 × 19.1 cm). Museum of African American History, Boston and Nantucket (220)

131. Aaron Douglas (American, 1899–1979), *Scottsboro Boys*, ca. 1935. Pastel, 16 ⅛ × 14 ⅝ in. (41 × 37.1 cm). National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Conserved with funds from the Smithsonian Women's Committee (2004.6)

132. Roy DeCarava (American, 1919–2009), *Pickets*, 1946. Seriograph, 19 ⅝ × 17 ⅛ in. (49.8 × 43.5 cm). Clark Atlanta University Art Museum; Third Atlanta University Purchase Award, Prints (1946.011)

133. Romare Bearden (American, 1911–1988), *The Block*, 1971. Cut-and-pasted printed, colored, and metallic papers, photostats, graphite, ink marker, gouache, watercolor, and ink on Masonite, 48 in. × 18 ft. (121.9 × 548.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Shore, 1978 (1978.61.1–.6)

NOTES

THE NEW NEGRO ARTIST AND THE MODERN BLACK SUBJECT

DENISE MURRELL

1. See discussion of the original and evolving meaning of the term "New Negro" in Richard J. Powell, *Black Art: A Cultural History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), p. 42. Powell traces the earliest use of the term, from the "turn of the century race rhetoric" of Booker T. Washington and the Black feminist Fannie Barrier Williams—when it referred to an "enlightened, politically astute African American"—to Alain Locke's frequent use of it in publications to denote new aesthetic approaches by Black artists and writers and their insistence on self-definition.

2. Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925).

3. As described in Du Bois's essay "The Talented Tenth," in *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes of To-day*, ed. Booker T. Washington (New York: James Pott and Company, 1903), pp. 30–75.

4. Locke articulated an expanded "democratic" perspective on accepting different approaches to Black artistic expression as legitimate in some of his writings of the late 1930s, including his foreword to the exhibition catalogue *Contemporary Negro Art* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1939).

5. Alain Locke, "The New Negro," in *The New Negro*, p. 6.

6. In "The Negro Mind Reaches Out," in *The New Negro*, pp. 385–414, Du Bois recounted his travel-based observations about Black European anticolonial activists in European countries, including Portugal, France, the United Kingdom, and Belgium.

7. Douglas's illustrations appeared on covers of the September 1927 and May 1928 issues of *The Crisis*.

8. Alain Locke, "Foreword," in *The New Negro*, p. ix.

9. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Criteria of Negro Art," in *The Crisis* 32, no. 6 (October 1926), pp. 290, 296–97. See also the discussion of *The Crisis* in *I Too Sing America: The Harlem Renaissance at 100*, ed. Wil Haygood, exh. cat. (New York: Rizzoli Electa; Columbus: Columbus Museum of Art, 2018), p. 108.

10. As illustrated in Waring's unpublished report "A Summary of Negro Sculpture: An Outline Prepared for Inclusion in a Brief History of Art for Secondary Schools," in which she included illustrated descriptions of West African sculpture. Access courtesy of Roberta Graves and the archives of the Laura Wheeler Waring Family Collection, Chappaqua, New York.

11. Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," in *The New Negro*, p. 256.

12. Ibid., pp. 256, 262, 264.

13. See Lowery Stokes Sims, "Icons," in *Something to Say: The McNay Presents 100 Years of African American Art*, exh. cat. (San Antonio: McNay Art Museum, 2018), pp. 9, 11; and Alvia J. Wardlaw, *Charles Alston*, vol. 6, David C. Driskell Series of African American Art (San Francisco: Pomegranate, 2007), pp. 20–21. Also see Jeffrey C. Stewart, *The New Negro: The Life of Alain Locke* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 734, regarding Alston's episodes of disagreement with Locke's hesitation to engage in art as activism.

14. Wardlaw, *Charles Alston*, pp. 20–21.

15. Richard J. Powell, "Re/birth of a Nation," in *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance*, exh. cat. (London: Hayward Gallery and Institute of International Visual Arts; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 19.

16. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches* (Chicago: AC McClurg and Co., 1903), p. 3. See also Denise Murrell, "The Mirror of History: Black Artists as Antiracist Activists," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (Fall 2020), p. 36.

17. See Amy M. Mooney, "The Portraits of Archibald Motley and the Visualization of Black Modern Subjectivity," in *Archibald Motley: Jazz Age Modernist*, ed. Richard J. Powell, exh. cat. (Durham, N.C.: Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University, 2014), pp. 37–39.

18. Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," *The Nation*, June 23, 1926, p. 694.

19. Locke, "Foreword," in *Contemporary Negro Art*, n.p.

20. See the analyisis of Johnson's *Jitterbugs* series in Richard J. Powell, *Homecoming: The Art and Life of William H. Johnson*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; New York: Rizzoli, 1991), pp. 165–70. For a discussion relating the *Jitterbugs* series to Johnson's observations at Harlem's Savoy Ballroom, see Leslie King-Hammond, "Rural Rituals and Urban Realities," in *William H. Johnson: An American Modern*, ed. Teresa G. Gionis, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), pp. 70–72.

21. See Mary Schmidt Campbell, "Introduction," in *Harlem Renaissance: Art of Black America*, exh. cat. (New York: Studio Museum in Harlem and Harry N. Abrams, 1987), p. 29.

22. Amy Helene Kirschke discusses the mural in *Aaron Douglas: Art, Race, and the Harlem Renaissance* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), pp. 121–24, with a detailed description of the second panel's iconographic narrative on p. 122. See also Susan Earle, "Harlem, Modernism, and Beyond: Aaron Douglas and His Role in Art/History," in *Aaron Douglas: African American Modernist*, ed. Susan Earle, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 2007), pp. 5–51.

23. Earle, "Harlem, Modernism, and Beyond," p. 27.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., p. 34.

26. See Campbell, "Introduction," in *Harlem Renaissance*, p. 29.

27. Leah Dickerman, "An American Scene: Aaron Douglas and *Aspects of Negro Life*," *Marg: A Magazine of the Arts* 71, no. 4 (June 2020), pp. 84–93.

28. See Melanee C. Harvey's discussion of Douglas's 1930s book illustrations and paintings in "Aaron Douglas's *Building More Stately Mansions*: Process, Content, and Context," *Manual* (Rhode Island School of Design Museum), no. 14 (Fall/Winter 2020), pp. 27–29.

29. Renee Ater, "Creating a 'Usable Past' and a 'Future Perfect Society': Aaron Douglas's Murals for the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition," in Earle, ed., *Aaron Douglas*, p. 108.

30. See Harvey's close exegesis of this work in "Aaron Douglas's *Building More Stately Mansions*," p. 23; and Earle, "Harlem, Modernism, and Beyond," p. 37.

31. Harvey, "Aaron Douglas's *Building More Stately Mansions*," p. 24.

32. Earle, "Harlem, Modernism, and Beyond," p. 37. Harvey notes, in "Aaron Douglas's *Building More Stately Mansions*," p. 50, that new construction was underway in Harlem at the time.

33. For an overview of this discourse during and after the Harlem Renaissance, see Adrienne L. Childs, "African Art and the Modern," in *Riffs and Relations: African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition*, ed. Childs et al., exh. cat. (New York: Rizzoli Electa, in association with the Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C., 2020), pp. 25–71.

34. Lowery Stokes Sims, "Modernism and Its Discontents," in *Challenge of the Modern: African-American Artists 1925–1945*, exh. cat. (New York: Studio Museum in Harlem, 2003), p. 11.

35. For discussion of Locke's motivations in commissioning the Reiss portraits, see Jeffrey C. Stewart, *The Life of Alain Locke*, pp. 480–81; Anastasia Kinigopoulo, "Winold Reiss," in Haygood, ed., *I Too Sing America*, p. 72; and Jeffrey C. Stewart, "Winold Reiss's American Studies," in *The Art of Winold Reiss: An Immigrant Modernist*, by Marilyn Satin Kushner, exh. cat. (Lewes, U.K.: Giles; New York: New-York Historical Society, 2021), pp. 49–50.

36. Eunice Roberta Hunton, "Breaking Through," *Survey Graphic*, March 1925, p. 684.

37. Stewart mentions the Phi Beta Kappa keys in *The Life of Alain Locke*, p. 481.

38. Elise Johnson McDougald to Alain Locke, undated, Locke papers at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C. Quoted in Stewart, *The Life of Alain Locke*, p. 481.

39. George Hutchinson, *In Search of Nella Larsen: A Biography of the Color Line* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 182; Stewart, *The Life of Alain Locke*, p. 481. Both authors note that this objection was sustained by subsequent generations of scholars, some of whom allegedly failed to credit Reiss as illustrator.

40. Kushner, *The Art of Winold Reiss*, pp. 7, 29–47.

41. Jeffrey C. Stewart, *To Color America: Portraits by Winold Reiss* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), p. 50.

42. Walter F. White, "Color Lines," *Survey Graphic*, March 1925, pp. 680–82. White also alludes to the reverse intraracial discrimination of groups such as Marcus Garvey's UNIA, which discouraged membership by Blacks of lighter complexion.

43. Alain Locke, "To Certain of Our Philistines," *Opportunity* 3, no. 29 (May 1925), pp. 155–56.

44. Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," pp. 692–94.

45. Several studies are summarized in Isabelle Britto, "Along the Color Line: Class, Passing, and the Construct of Colorism in Du Bois' *Crisis* Magazine, 1910–1934" (master's thesis, University of Leiden, 2019), pp. 38–56; see also Hutchinson, *In Search of Nella Larsen*, pp. 182–83.

46. Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," p. 266; Stewart, *The Life of Alain Locke*, p. 783.

47. Alain Locke, "The American Negro as Artist" (1931), in *The New Negro Aesthetic: Selected Writings*, ed. Jeffrey C. Stewart (New York: Penguin Books, 2022), p. 222.

48. Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," p. 693.

49. Powell, *Homecoming*, pp. 190–91, 194–200.

50. Drew Sawyer, "Allan Rohan Crite," in Haygood, ed., *I Too Sing America*, pp. 156–57.

51. Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," pp. 256, 261–62, 264.

52. Stewart, *The Life of Alain Locke*, pp. 772–73. Stewart cites correspondence located in the Alain Locke archives at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., p. 773.

55. Locke, "Foreword," in *Contemporary Negro Art*, n.p.

56. See mention of Aicha Goblet's work with Matisse in Hilary Spurling, *Matisse the Master: A Life of Henri Matisse* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), p. 201, and Denise Murrell, *Posing Modernity: The Black Model from Manet and Matisse to Today*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, New York, 2018), p. 93.

57. *In the Eye of the Muses: Selections from the Clark Atlanta University Art Collection* (Atlanta: Clark Atlanta University, 2012), p. 47.

58. Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," p. 262.

59. For a close critical analysis of Motley's Paris paintings, including *Blues*, see Olivier Meslay, "Motley's Paris: Missed Opportunities," in Powell, ed., *Archibald Motley: Jazz Age Modernist*, pp. 83–93.

60. Ibid., p. 91.

61. See discussions of the formal qualities, historical context, and recent renaming of the Munch portrait in the online feature accompanying the Munchmuseet's 2021 exhibition *Call Me by My Name*, https://www.munchmuseet.no/en/exhibitions/archive/2021/call-me-by-my-name/; and the Stedelijk's online feature about its renaming of the Hatterman painting, https://www.stedelijk.nl/nl/nieuws/man-op-schilderij-op-het-terras-van-nola-hatterman-geidentificeerd. See also Claire van Els, ed., *Surinamese School: Painting from Paramaribo to Amsterdam*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 2020); and Esther Schreuder and Elmer Kolfin, *Black Is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Kerk, 2008).

62. Wendy A. Grossman and Sala E. Patterson, "Adrienne Fidelin," in *Le Modèle noir de Géricault à Matisse*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée d'Orsay and Flammarion, 2019), pp. 306–11.

63. See the discussion of Matisse's sessions with Elvire Van Hyfte in Murrell, *Posing Modernity*, pp. 133–36 and 180–81.

64. Locke, "Foreword," in *Contemporary Negro Art*, n.p. Resistance to this view is summarized in Aaron Bryant, "Black Thou Art, Black Thou Ain't: Johnson, Identity, and the Linguistic Turn," in *William H. Johnson: An American Modern*, p. 106, which summarizes the criticism of Johnson's Scandinavian landscapes as not representing the Black body. See also Lowery Stokes Sims, "Johnson and the Semiotics of Landscape and Still Life," in the same volume, pp. 42–44.

65. As described by Robert Hayden in his preface to *The New Negro Edited by Alain Locke* (New York: Atheneum, 1974), page x.

66. Campbell, in her introduction to *Harlem Renaissance* (pp. 19, 27), discusses the artist's inspiration to make this work after reading an account in the *New York Times* of the Silent March down Fifth Avenue in July 1917 to protest the lynching of Mary Turner.

67. For a close analysis of this painting and an account of the New York City incident and the resulting race riot that it represents, see Powell, *Homecoming*, pp. 178–81. Powell also summarizes the academically conservative critique by prominent Howard University art historian James Porter of Johnson's modernist style (and Aaron Douglas's engagement with African aesthetics).

THE BOYS IN THE BACK ROOM: GAMBLING IMAGERY DURING THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

RICHARD J. POWELL

1. James Weldon Johnson, "The Prodigal Son," in *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (1927; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1990), pp. 23–24.

2. Archibald Motley, oral history interview by Dennis Barrie, January 23, 1978, and March 1, 1979, Archives of American Art, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-archibald-motley-11466.

3. Petrine Archer, "Negrophilia, Diaspora, and Moments of Crisis," in *Afro Modern: Journeys through the Black Atlantic*, ed. Tanya Barson and Peter Gorschlüter, exh. cat. (Liverpool: Tate Liverpool, 2010), pp. 33–35.

4. James A. Porter, *Modern Negro Art* (1943; reprint, Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1992), p. 100.

5. Claude McKay, *Home to Harlem* (1928; reprint, Boston: Northeastern University Press; Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1987), pp. 50–52.

6. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Two Novels," *The Crisis* 35, no. 6 (June 1928), p. 202.

7. Bernard L. Peterson, Jr., *A Century of Musicals in Black and White: An Encyclopedia of Musical Stage Works by, about, or Involving African Americans* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993), p. 37.

8. Germaine Krull, "Les Black Birds," *L'Art vivant*, no. 110 (July 15, 1929), p. 579.

9. McKay, *Home to Harlem*, pp. 63–64.

10. Hale Woodruff, oral history interview by Al Murray, November 18, 1968, Archives of American Art, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-hale-woodruff-11463.

11. Porter, *Modern Negro Art*, p. 151.

12. Woodruff, oral history interview.

13. For the provenance of this Ivoirian masterpiece, see SMV (Susan Mullin Vogel), "Guro, The Bouaflé Master," in *African Art in the Barnes Foundation: The Triumph of L'Art nègre and the Harlem Renaissance*, by Christa Clarke (New York: Skira Rizzoli, in association with the Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 152–55.

14. A definition of the poker term "call" was, curiously, listed under a "Key for Negro Expressions" in Henry Guy Carleton, *The Thompson Street Poker Club* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1889), p. 6.

15. Alain Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," in *The New Negro: An Interpretation*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925), p. 267.

16. James Weldon Johnson explored the gambling theme well over a decade before "The Prodigal Son." In his 1912 roman à clef about a fair-skinned Black man who eventually passes for white (reissued in 1927, at the height of the Harlem Renaissance), the narrator suddenly becomes introspective and embarks on an ethical treatise about men and gambling: "I lived to learn that in the world of sport all men win alike, but lose differently; . . . Some men lose with a careless smile, recognizing that losing is a part of the game; others curse their luck and rail at fortune; and others, still, lose sadly; after each such experience they are swept by a wave of reform; they resolve to stop gambling and be good. . . . Those in the first class are looked upon with admiration; those in the second class are merely commonplace; while those in the third are regarded with contempt." "I believe," the narrator summarizes, "these distinctions hold good in all the ventures of life," an assessment no doubt shared by Johnson's fellow Jazz Age philosopher/gamblers. James Weldon Johnson, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912; reprint, New York: Penguin Classics, 1990), p. 81.

17. Aaron Douglas to Langston Hughes, December 21, 1925, Langston Hughes Papers, James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection of Negro Arts and Letters, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

18. Jim O'Neal, "On the Paramount Paper Trail," *Living Blues* 48, no. 1 (April 2017), pp. 34–41.

19. Zora Neale Hurston, *Poker!* (1931; Project Gutenberg, 2005), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/15902.

A CERTAIN REALISM: THE NEW IN "THE NEW NEGRO" PORTRAITURE

EMILY BRAUN

Numerous friends and colleagues assisted in the preparation of this essay: Julia Boddewyn, Anna Dumont, Susan Edwards, Andrew Frackman, Leslie Koot, Howard Singerman, and especially Luise Mahler, who helped with invaluable research. I am most grateful to the expertise and kindnesses of Renate Reiss for providing access to the Reiss Archives, Hudson, New York.

1. W. E. B. Du Bois, "A Negro Student at Harvard at the End of the 19th Century," *Massachusetts Review* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1960), pp. 353 and 356.

2. Born in 1886 in Karlsruhe, Reiss first trained under his father, the artist Fritz Reiss (1857–1914), a painter of the southern German peasantry and a commercial illustrator. By 1910 the younger Reiss had settled in Munich, where he encountered German and French modernism. He studied Jugendstil graphic design under Julius Diez (1870–1957) at the Royal School of Applied Arts (Königliche Kunstgewerbeschule) and then painting at the Royal Academy (Akademie der Bildenden Künste) under Franz von Stuck (1863–1928), one of the leading artists of the Wilhelmine era. Economic concerns, the threat of war, and Reiss's fascination with Native Americans prompted him to immigrate in 1913, at age twenty-seven, to the United States, where he opened a design studio and school in New York's Greenwich Village. On his early years in Germany and his ethnographic portraits, graphic work, murals, pioneering interior design, and art school, see Frank Mehring, ed., *The Multicultural Modernism of Winold Reiss, 1886–1953: (Trans)National Approaches to His Work* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag and De Gruyter, 2022), pp. 42–69, and Marilyn Satin Kushner, *The Art of Winold Reiss: An Immigrant Modernist*, exh. cat. (Lewes, U.K.: Giles; New York: New-York Historical Society, 2002).

3. *Survey Graphic*, March 1925, and Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro: An Interpretation*, with book decorations and portraits by Winold Reiss (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925), have been analyzed by, among others, George Hutchinson, *The Harlem Renaissance in Black and White* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 387–433; Anne Elizabeth Carroll, *Word, Image, and the New Negro: Representation and Identity in the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); and Sydelle Iris Rubin, "Emigrants in Harlem: New Perspectives on Miguel Covarrubias and Winold Reiss" (PhD diss., Boston University, 2002), esp. chapter 3, pp. 99–169. This essay builds on the foundational scholarship on Reiss by Jeffrey C. Stewart, especially *To Color America: Portraits by Winold Reiss* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989) and *The New Negro: The Life of Alain Locke* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

4. Ethel Ray, Charles S. Johnson's secretary, recalled that Reiss, while working on the *Survey Graphic* issue, would often say that the "African" illustrations "should be done by a Negro," not himself; she showed him some of Douglas's sketches, and Johnson and Reiss convinced him to come to New York (Hutchinson, *The Harlem Renaissance in Black and White*, p. 398). Douglas soon enrolled in Reiss's school on a two-year fellowship and contributed "drawings and decorative designs" to *The New Negro* anthology. On the fine relationship between Reiss and Douglas, see Amy Helene Kirschke, *Aaron Douglas: Art, Race, and the Harlem Renaissance* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), pp. 55–70.

One cannot discount certain similarities between Reiss's Africanist page "decorations" and Fernand Léger's set and costume designs for *La Création du monde*, commissioned by Rolf

de Maré for the Ballet Suédois, with a libretto by Blaise Cendrars (based on his 1921 collection of African folk tales, *Anthologie nègre*) and music by Darius Milhaud, which debuted in Paris in October 1923. Léger's set and some of the costume designs of flora, fauna, and masks, which combined interlocking geometries with tribal motifs (often symmetrically disposed) in black-and-white patterned silhouettes, were published, among other places, on the cover of Alfred Flechtheim's *Das Querschnittbuch 1923* (Frankfurt am Main: Querschnitt-Verlag, 1923) and in *Das Querschnitt* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1924), n.p., and *Das Kunstblatt*, no. 8 (1924), pp. 42–43, publications that Reiss apparently read, judging from copies in his personal library. Locke mentioned both Milhaud, "who is an avowed propagandist of the possibilities of Negro musical idiom," and Cendrars's *Anthologie nègre* in "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," in *The New Negro* anthology, p. 261. Milhaud, in turn, had traveled to New York and Harlem in 1922.

5. Alain Locke, "Enter the New Negro," *Survey Graphic*, March 1925, p. 632; and in *The New Negro* anthology, pp. 9–10. For bourgeois Blacks, "representative" often meant "presentable" to white audiences; see Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black," *Representations* 24 (Fall 1988), pp. 129–55, which also addresses the metaphor of the "New Negro" in the years 1895–1925.

6. Hutchinson, *The Harlem Renaissance in Black and White*, p. 344. See also Stewart, *The Life of Alain Locke* (pp. 408–29), for a comprehensive account of the legendary March 21, 1924, New York Civic Club dinner, which was organized by Charles S. Johnson and hosted by Locke to promote white support of emerging Black writers. The event inspired Kellogg to initiate the *Survey Graphic* issue on Harlem (pp. 434–35).

7. Locke, "Harlem Types: Portraits by Winold Reiss," *Survey Graphic*, March 1925, p. 652. See Locke, "The Art of the Ancestors," in the same issue, p. 673, which was illustrated with images of tribal sculpture from the Barnes Foundation, as was his expanded text on this subject, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts" (part of the larger section "The Negro Digs Up His Past"), in *The New Negro* anthology, pp. 254–67. Albert Barnes contributed his own problematic text to *Survey Graphic*, "Negro Art and America," pp. 668–69 (*The New Negro* anthology, pp. 19–25).

8. Locke, "Enter the New Negro," pp. 631–32.

9. *Exhibition of 35 Portraits by Winold Reiss Drawn at the Blackfoot Indian Reservation, Browning, Montana, January, 1920* (New York: E. F. Hanfstaengl, 1920); and the exhibition *Winold Reiss* at Anderson Galleries, New York (November 13–25, 1922), which, according to the checklist, included 136 portraits. See "Winold Reiss, Holbein of the Humble," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 23, 1922. Critics also compared Reiss's drawing style, especially his rendition of the German peasants featured in the Oberammergau Passion Play, to that of Dürer.

10. Paul Kellogg, "Communication among Men: A Talk before Teachers Union, Hudson Guild Farm," October 1926, typescript, p. 10. Box 3, Folder 28, Paul Kellogg Papers, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota Libraries. I thank Linnea Anderson, archivist, Social Welfare History Archives, for providing me with a copy of this manuscript. On the interracial circles of the 1920s, see George Hutchinson, *In Search of Nella Larsen: A Biography of the Color Line* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), esp. pp. 189–242 on Reiss. Reiss was also close to two other émigré artists involved with the Harlem Renaissance: the Hungarian photographer Nickolas Muray, who photographed Reiss's pastels for reproduction in *Survey Graphic*, and the Mexican Miguel Covarrubias, who contributed three caricatures to *The New Negro* anthology (although two were excised from the 1927 edition; see Peter Hulme, "Taking the Blues Away: The Second Edition of *The New Negro*," *MELUS* 47, no. 2 [Summer 2022], pp. 1–32).

11. Arthur Rundt, "Die schwarze Welle," *Uhu*, no. 11 (August 1925), pp. 30–35. The article largely reprises a review of the *Survey Graphic* issue and its report on Harlem's rise: Mary Ross, "Negro City in Harlem Is a Race Capital: Community of 175,000, Now Largely in Negroes' Hands, Has Become a Cultural Centre," *New York Times*, March 1, 1925, pp. 6–7. Reiss also received a short review in "Ausstellungen (New York)," *Der Cicerone*, no. 17 (1925), p. 919.

12. Locke, "Harlem Types," p. 653. Reiss was not the only white artist to be featured in the *Survey Graphic* issue, which included the drawing of a Black laborer by Mahonri Young and the head of a boy, titled "Young Africa," by the German Walter von Ruckteschell. The latter image, reprinted in *The New Negro* anthology, was a surprising choice given that von Ruckteschell was a captain in German colonialist campaigns in Africa. As Peter Schneck documented in "The New Negro from Germany," *American Art* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2008), pp. 102–10, the picture labeled "Young Africa" by Locke was actually of Hassam Bilal, a member of the Askari (the Africans attached to the colonial forces), and the likeness was part of a portfolio of colonialist imagery published in 1921. As Schneck notes (p. 107), von Ruckteschell visited New York in 1923, where he was in contact with Charles S. Johnson.

13. Reiss quoted in "German Painter's Harlem Exhibit of Colored Subjects: Reiss Seeks to Stir Art Interest in Negroes," *New York Evening Journal*, March 30, 1925.

14. Charles S. Johnson, "The Art of Winold Reiss," *Opportunity* 3, no. 25 (January 1925), p. 5, and Locke, "Harlem Types," p. 652. Their comments also related to the disappointing results of a contest held by *Survey Graphic* and advertised in *Opportunity* 2, no. 20 (August 1924), p. 253, for the best original picture "by a Negro artist, interpreting NEGRO LIFE in HARLEM." The winning image, along with any other suitable submissions, was to be published in the upcoming special Harlem issue, but none, apparently, was deemed worthy. Reiss, Du Bois, Johnson, and Barnes were among the jurors. Johnson also commissioned Reiss to design the 1925 (vol. 3) covers for *Opportunity* from January through April.

15. Caroline Goeser, in *Picturing the New Negro: Harlem Renaissance Print Culture and Modern Black Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), argues for the formative role of little magazines and their illustrations by Black artists, including Laura Wheeler Waring and Richard Nugent, in fostering a new variety of styles, subject matter, and racial identity.

16. See Mary Ann Calo, "Alain Locke and the Invention of 'Negro Art,'" *Distinction and Denial: Race, Nation, and the Critical Construction of the African American Artist, 1920–40* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), pp. 23–66, for an analysis of Locke's changing notions of racial expression from the 1920s through the 1930s.

17. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Criteria of Negro Art," *The Crisis* 32, no. 6 (October 1926), pp. 294, 297. This text was a response to the larger inquiry "The Negro in Art: How Shall He Be Portrayed," which unfolded in issues of *The Crisis* from February to November 1926.

18. Stewart, *To Color America*, p. 50. Reiss's style anticipated the hard-edged works that began to appear by the mid-1920s, such as the city scenes and landscapes of the American Precisionists, as well as portraiture by the likes of Luigi Lucioni and James Ormsbee Chapin; see Teresa A. Carbone, ed., *Youth and Beauty: Art of the American Twenties*, exh. cat. (New York: Brooklyn Museum and Skira Rizzoli, 2011).

19. For example, Stewart, in *The Life of Alain Locke*, p. 461, writes that "Reiss invigorated the image of the Negro with a *Neue Sachlichkeit* visual aesthetic that was altogether absent among American artists." Sydelle Rubin-Dienstfrey also argues for the direct influence of the Neue Sachlichkeit on Reiss, in "Transcultural Readings of

Winold Reiss, Franz Boas, and Miguel Covarrubias: Art and Ethnography of the Harlem Renaissance," in *The Multicultural Modernism of Winold Reiss*, pp. 106–7. In her PhD thesis, "Emigrants in Harlem," pp. 65–68, she offers a lengthy comparison of Reiss's portraits to the photographs of August Sander, although the latter's compendium *Antlitz der Zeit* (Face of Our Time) was not published in Germany until 1929.

20. The term "Neue Sachlichkeit" was first used by curator Gustav Hartlaub in 1923 and then more broadly in his exhibition *Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus* at the Mannheim Kunsthalle in 1925. Hartlaub differentiated between the "verists" and the "classicists." That same year, Franz Roh coined the term "magic realism" in his richly illustrated *Nach-Expressionismus, magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1925). On problems of definition and style, see Steve Plumb, *Neue Sachlichkeit 1918–33: Unity and Diversity of an Art Movement* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006). On Locke's adverse reaction to Grosz's *Ecce Homo*, which Claude McKay showed him while they were in Berlin, see Jonathan Wipplinger, "Germany, 1923: Alain Locke, Claude McKay and the New Negro in Germany," *Callaloo: Journal of African Diaspora Arts and Letters* 36, no. 1 (Winter 2013), p. 119.

21. Winold Reiss, Kirchzarten, to Henriette Reiss, New York, December 14, 1921, describing his travels in Germany: "Art here, without exception, walks in French shoes and is quite morbid and hopeless. Only Hodler and Leibl shine like two stars from a better past"; and on his visit to the museum in Württemberg, "There are Dürers and Cranachs and other old German masters that are exhilarating" (translations by Luise Mahler). Courtesy Reiss Archives, Hudson, New York.

22. Frederic J. Schwartz, "Commodity Signs: Peter Behrens, the AEG, and the Trademark," *Journal of Design History* 9, no. 3 (1996), pp. 164–65, 173. See also H. K. Frenzel, *Ludwig Hohlwein* (Berlin: Phönix Illustrationsdruck und Verlag, 1926). Hohlwein later became a major propagandist and poster designer for the Nazi regime.

23. Winold Reiss, "The Modern German Poster," *Modern Art Collector* 1, no. 1 (1915), n.p. This publication was the mouthpiece for the Society of Modern Art; Reiss was a cofounder of both, with the aim of modernizing graphic design and advertising in the United States.

24. David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), esp. chapter 6, "Racial Imperium," pp. 259–304.

25. Locke, "Harlem Types," p. 652.

26. Rubin-Dienstfrey, in "Transcultural Readings of Winold Reiss, Franz Boas and Miguel Covarrubias," pp. 108–12, argues that Reiss's fieldwork methodology and more progressive attitude toward the "other" was akin to the new anthropology of Franz Boas, who was teaching at Columbia and known to several figures of the Harlem Renaissance. Reiss had been formed, however, by late nineteenth-century German anthropology, including the works of Leo Frobenius and texts on ethnographic types, with photographs, such as Georg Buschan's *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* (Stuttgart: Streder & Schröder, 1910), which he owned.

27. Michelle Shawn Smith, *Photography on the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004). See also David Levering Lewis and Deborah Willis, *A Small Nation of People: W. E. B. Du Bois and African American Portraits of Progress* (New York: Amistad, an imprint of Harper Collins, 2003).

28. Carroll, *Word, Image, and the New Negro*, pp. 142–43.

29. Gwendolyn DuBois Shaw, "'On Deathless Glories Fix Thine Ardent View': Scipio Moorhead, Phillis Wheatley, and the Mythic Origins of Anglo-African Portraiture in New England," in *Portraits of a People: Picturing African Americans in the Nineteenth Century*, exh. cat. (Andover, Mass.: Addison Gallery of American Art, 2006), pp. 26–43.

30. The college student was Harold Jackman, an intimate of Countee Cullen's (Stewart, *The Life of Alain Locke*, p. 481). As Sara Merrill, an editor at *Survey Graphic*, wrote to Kellogg on February 10, 1925, "I think the series accomplishes a definite purpose as it stands. The college lad is the type farthest removed from the man from the Congo . . . a wide span between the two." Quoted in Martha Jane Nadell, *Enter the New Negroes: Images of Race in American Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 49. "Congo" Momtino had modeled for Reiss before, hence the subtitle "A familiar of the New York studios" under his visage in *Survey Graphic*. He lived downtown, often housed by Reiss, and performed at the Congo Room at the Alamac Hotel, which Reiss designed; see Tjark Reiss, "My Father Winold Reiss—Recollections by Tjark Reiss," in *Cincinnati Union Terminal and the Artistry of Winold Reiss*, ed. Dottie L. Lewis (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Historical Society, 1993), pp. 64–66.

31. Elise Johnson McDougald, "The Double Task: The Struggle of Negro Women for Sex and Race Emancipation," *Survey Graphic*, March 1925, p. 689.

32. Richard J. Powell, *Cutting a Figure: Fashioning Black Portraiture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 71.

33. Maurice Raynal, *Picasso* (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1921), was issued in French the following year. See also "Picasso Speaks: A Statement by the Artist," *The Arts* 3, no. 5 (May 1923), pp. 315–29, which published many of the artist's neoclassical portraits, including the drawing of Guillaume Apollinaire on the cover and Erik Satie (fig. 49) on p. 329; and Julia May Boddewyn, "Selected Chronology of Exhibitions, Auctions, and Magazine Reproductions, 1910–1957," in *Picasso and American Art*, by Michael FitzGerald, exh. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 329–34. *Exhibition of Recent Works by Picasso* was held at the Wildenstein Galleries, New York, November 17–December 8, 1923.

34. A wide selection of German Expressionist art, with depictions of African subjects and a deliberately "primitivizing" style, could be seen in New York exhibitions as early as 1923. See *A Collection of Modern German Art Introduced by W. R. Valentiner* (New York: Anderson Galleries, 1923); *Catalogue of the Multi-National Exhibitions of Works by American, British, French, German, Swiss and Mexican Artists* (New York: Grand Central Art Galleries, 1927); and *German Painting and Sculpture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1931).

35. See Adrienne L. Childs and Susan H. Libby, *The Black Figure in the European Imaginary*, exh. cat. (Winter Park, Fla.: Cornell Fine Arts Museum, Rollins College, 2017).

36. See Hutchinson, *In Search of Nella Larsen*, pp. 183–86; and Rudolph P. Byrd and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Jean Toomer's Conflicted Racial Identity," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 6, 2011, https://www.chronicle.com/article/jean-toomers-conflicted-racial-identity.

37. See Kellogg, "Communication among Men," p. 11.

38. Helmut Lethen, *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany*, trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

39. Locke, "Enter the New Negro," p. 631; Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," *The Nation*, June 23, 1926, reprinted in *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 95. Reiss's portrait of Hughes, from 1926, was first published to accompany a feature on him by Walter F. White, "The Growth of a Poet," *The World*, February 6, 1927. It also appeared on the cover of *Opportunity* 5, no. 3 (March 1927). The pose is almost identical to that of Hughes in his portrait photograph by James Latimer Allen, also of 1927. The unusual background of the portrait reprised an illustration by Reiss for Hughes's poem "The Weary Blues," which was published in *Forum* 74, no. 2 (August 1925), p. 238.

40. "Editorials: The Survey Graphic," *The Messenger* 7, no. 4 (April 1925), p. 156; Jessie Fauset, editor of *The Crisis*, was an intimate of Du Bois but, unlike him, did not like Reiss's work, possibly because of her antagonistic relationship with Locke, as witnessed in her review "The Looking Glass: Literature," *The Crisis*, September 30, 1925, p. 228. The *New York Times* offered a short, largely negative review in "Representative Negroes," April 12, 1925, sec. 8, p. 11. See also Richard Reid, "A Criticism of the Negro Pictures in the Harlem Number of the Survey Graphic," *New York Amsterdam News*, April 15, 1925, p. 9.

41. As recounted by Kellogg in "Communication among Men," pp. 11–12. Letters to Locke from McDougald, who was also in attendance, confirm Kellogg's account; see Stewart, *The Life of Alain Locke*, pp. 480–81. McDougald subsequently organized a visit to the exhibition by "six or eight hundred" children from the neighboring public school, where, according to Kellogg, p. 12, they encountered "for the first time in their lives" positive images of "the leaders of their race." The brouhaha over *Two Public School Teachers* is discussed by Denise Murrell in her essay in this volume.

42. Aaron Douglas to Alta Sawyer, probably summer 1925, cited in Kirschke, *Aaron Douglas*, p. 61.

43. Locke, "To Certain of Our Philistines," *Opportunity* 3, no. 29 (May 1925); reprinted in Alain Locke, *The New Negro Aesthetic: Selected Writings*, ed. Jeffrey C. Stewart (New York: Penguin Books, 2022), pp. 199–203.

44. Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," pp. 95, 94, 91.

45. Langston Hughes, "Best Negroes Not Really Cultured," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 9, 1927, p. A1.

46. Stewart, *To Color America*, pp. 81–86; Rubin, "Emigrants in Harlem," p. 114.

47. See Stewart, *The Life of Alain Locke*, p. 95. On the intersection of Black and gay culture in the Harlem Renaissance and the relationship between Locke's homosexuality and his aestheticism, see ibid. and, most recently, Kobena Mercer, *Alain Locke and the Visual Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the Hutchins Center for African and African American Research, Harvard University, 2022). See also the essay by James Smalls in this volume.

48. Tjark Reiss, interviewed in Rubin, "Emigrants in Harlem," p. 115.

49. *Exhibition of Paintings by Archibald J. Motley, Jr.* (New York: New Gallery, 1928). Robert Harshe, director of the Art Institute of Chicago, had suggested that Motley contact Hellman, which the artist did in a letter of November 18, 1926; on December 11, Hellman raised with him the possibility of a one-man show, a plan that he firmed up in a letter of February 12, 1927. General Correspondence, Box 5 (1926–1929), George Sidney Hellman Papers, 1888–1958, New York Public Library. On the attendance, see George Hellman, New York, to Edward Bruce, Settignano, Italy, February 19, 1928. It was not, in fact, the first one-person exhibition of a Black artist in New York; in 1908 Henry Ossawa Tanner's one-man exhibition of religious paintings was held at the American Art Galleries in New York.

50. Motley's *Blaine, a Convalescent* was reproduced in Worth Tuttle, "Negro Artists Are Developing True Racial Art," *New York Times*, September 9, 1928, sec. 9, p. 10. It had been purchased by Dale on March 10, 1928, and was then sold at the Plaza Art Galleries, October 31, 1946, lot 55; see Box 2, Folder 27, p. 9, Chester Dale Papers, Archives of American Art, https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?damspath=/CollectionsOnline/daleches/Box_0002/Folder_027. In addition to the piece by Tuttle, the *New York Times* heralded Motley in two reviews by Edward Alden Jewell, "Further Comment on Exhibitions," *New York Times*, March 4, 1928, sec. 9, p. 15; and "A Negro Artist Plumbs the Negro Soul," *New York Times Magazine*, March 25, 1928, pp. 8, 22.

51. "It is my earnest desire and ambition to express the American Negro honestly and sincerely, neither to add nor detract, and to bring about a more sincere and brotherly feeling, a better understanding, between him and his white brethren." Archibald J. Motley, Jr., "Statement," in *Art of Today: Chicago, 1933*, ed. J. Z. Jacobson (Chicago: L. M. Stein), p. 93.

52. Richard J. Powell, "Becoming Motley, Becoming Modern," in *Archibald Motley: Jazz Age Modernist*, exh. cat. (Durham, N.C.: Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University, 2014), p. 110; on comparisons to Grosz, see also the essay by Richard J. Powell in this catalogue. In his book *Modern Negro Art* (New York: Dryden Press, 1943), p. 115, James Porter categorized Motley's style as "objective realism" and compared his voodoo paintings to the naive quality of works by Henri Rousseau, whom German critics acknowledged as a forerunner of 1920s Neue Sachlichkeit and Magic Realism.

53. Edward Alden Jewell, "Dusseldorf a Mecca," *New York Times*, June 24, 1928, sec. 8, p. 7, noted works by Dix, Grosz, and others in the recent 1927 Carnegie International, which also traveled to the Brooklyn Museum.

54. *Ausstellung Amerikanischer Kunst in München/Exhibition of American Art in Munich*, Kunstverein, Munich, June–July 1930. The exhibition was a version of one previously seen earlier that year in Stockholm and Copenhagen, organized by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the American Federation of Arts, and the American Institute of Architects.

55. On the print portfolios and the marketing of images in postwar Germany, see Dennis Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism: The Art of the Great Disorder 1918–1924* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 27–32. From 1925 through 1933, the *Annual International Exhibition of Paintings* at the Carnegie Institute of Painting showed both German Expressionist and Neue Sachlichkeit works; see also the exhibitions listed in note 34. The transmission of Neue Sachlichkeit and its Magic Realist variations in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s is discussed in Emily Braun, "Cryptic Corn: Magic Realism and the Art of Grant Wood," in *Grant Wood: American Gothic and Other Fables*, ed. Barbara Haskell, exh. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 2018), pp. 66–77.

56. Amy M. Mooney claims that Motley's images of African American lives both "reinforce and challenge dominant assumptions"; "The Portraits of Archibald Motley and the Visualization of Black Modern Subjectivity," in *Archibald Motley: Jazz Age Modernist*, p. 21. Similarly, Phoebe Wolfskill writes of Motley that "pervasive and harmful images of Black identity insinuated themselves even on those artists seeking to resist them"; *Archibald Motley Jr. and Racial Reinvention: The Old Negro in New Negro Art* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017), p. 145.

57. Florence Ostende, ed., *Into the Night: Cabarets and Clubs in Modern Art*, exh. cat. (Munich: Prestel; London: Barbican Art Gallery, 2019).

58. Carmenita Higginbotham, *The Urban Scene: Race, Reginald Marsh, and American Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), pp. 103–35.

59. Powell, "Becoming Motley, Becoming Modern," p. 119. For a sensitive analysis of the influence of seventeenth-century Dutch painting on *Brown Girl After the Bath*, see Wolfskill, *Archibald Motley Jr. and Racial Reinvention*, pp. 39–44.

60. As Cécile Whiting has observed, in "More than Meets the Eye: Archibald Motley and Debates on Race in Art," *Prospects* 26 (October 2001), p. 455, the artist not only countered visual stereotypes of African American persons through his depictions of dress codes and skin tones but also demonstrated "the impossibility of maintaining any clear bifurcation between the races." More than one scholar has compared Motley's ambiguous representations of racial identification to Nella Larsen's novel *Passing* (1929); see, for example, Michael D. Harris, *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 159, and Mooney, "The Portraits of Archibald Motley," pp. 28, 30.

61. Franz Roh, preface to *Nach-Expressionismus, magischer Realismus*, n.p. (translation by the author).

62. Wendy Greenhouse, "An Early Portrait by Archibald J. Motley, Jr.," *American Art Journal* 29, no. 1/2 (1998), p. 100. As Greenhouse documents (p. 102n29), of twenty-six pictures in the New Gallery show, twenty-two were sold among five collectors, only one of whom was Black (John E. Nail, a Harlem real estate developer). The artist later expressed his frustration with the lack of interest in collecting art among African Americans with means, in Dennis Barrie, "Oral History Interview with Archibald Motley," January 23, 1978, and March 1, 1979, unpaginated transcript. Archibald Motley Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-archibald-motley-11466.

63. George Hellman, New York, to Archibald J. Motley, Jr., Chicago, February 12, 1927: "I should also want to have some subjects other than portraits. . . . There is a considerable interest among New Yorkers in your field of subjects, an interest which has been increased by the success of Carl Van Vechten's novel and by the play 'Lulu Belle.' Paintings which I should like to discuss with you would, in my opinion, have an excellent cance [*sic*] of selling at the exhibition." General Correspondence, Box 5 (1926–1929), George Sidney Hellman Papers, 1888–1958, New York Public Library.

64. *Selections from the Collection of George S. Hellman* (New York: American Art Association Anderson Galleries, 1932), Sale 4008, December 14, 1932; see p. 36, no. 77 (*Octoroon Girl*) and no. 78 (*Mending Socks*), and p. 63, no. 140 (*A Mulatress*). These portraits had previously been sold from the show of 1928 to the industrialist Carl W. Hamilton, known for his collection of Renaissance art.

65. Aaron Douglas, Dedication of Reiss's Collection for the Festival of Music and the Arts, Fisk University, 1952, typescript, n.p. Box 3, File 5, Aaron Douglas Collection, Special Collections, Fisk University. For providing access to this file, I thank DeLisa Minor Harris, Director of Library Services, and Diona E. Layden, Special Collections Librarian, both of the John Hope and Aurelia E. Franklin Library, Fisk University, and Jamaal B. Sheats, Associate Provost of Art and Culture, Director and Curator of Fisk University Galleries.

66. Locke, "To Certain of Our Philistines," p. 201.

67. George Bornstein, *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 150–51.

JAMES VAN DER ZEE AND THE GLOBAL MOBILITY OF PHOTOGRAPHS

EMILIE C. BOONE

1. Jacqueline Francis, *Making Race: Modernism and "Racial Art" in America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), p. 27.

2. François Brunet, "Introduction: No Representation without Circulation," in *Circulation*, ed. François Brunet (Chicago: Terra Foundation for American Art, 2017), p. 2.

3. Van Der Zee moved to New York in either 1906 or 1908, depending on the source.

4. For an informative blog entry by Laura Panadero on Van Der Zee's retouched portraits, see National Gallery of Art, https://www.nga.gov/blog/james-van-der-zee-retouched-portraits.html.

5. Kobena Mercer, *Alain Locke and the Visual Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the Hutchins Center for African and African American Research, Harvard University, 2022), p. 170. The "Talented Tenth," as discussed by W. E. B. Du Bois, represented the most prestigious and exceptional class of African Americans: a select group who could, in turn, serve as leaders for the advancement of all African Americans. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," in *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of Today*, ed. Booker T. Washington (New York: James Pott and Company, 1903), pp. 31–75.

6. For a discussion of the need for Black artists to negotiate the expectations of patrons and others, see Mercer, *Alain Locke and the Visual Arts*, p. 97.

7. Adrienne L. Childs, "Riffs and Relations: An Introduction," in *Riffs and Relations: African American Artists and the European Modernist Tradition*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: Phillips Collection; New York: Rizzoli Electa, 2020), p. 13.

8. For example, see Alain Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," in *The New Negro: An Interpretation*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925), pp. 254–67. Van Wyck Brooks, "On Creating a Usable Past," *The Dial*, no. 64 (April 11, 1918), pp. 337–41. See also Mary Ann Calo, "Alain Locke and American Art Criticism," *American Art* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2004), p. 95.

9. Camara Dia Holloway, *Portraiture and the Harlem Renaissance: The Photographs of James L. Allen*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1999), p. 7.

10. Carl Van Vechten to Harmon Foundation, 1927 letter of recommendation for James L. Allen, candidate for a William E. Harmon Award. Harmon Foundation Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Cited in Deborah Willis, "Photography and the Harmon Foundation," in *Against the Odds: African-American Artists and the Harmon Foundation*, ed. Gary A. Reynolds and Beryl J. Wright, exh. cat. (Newark, N.J.: Newark Museum, 1989), p. 101.

11. Willis, "Photography and the Harmon Foundation," pp. 99–101.

12. Ibid., pp. 100 and 102.

13. The Met, in partnership with the Studio Museum in Harlem, acquired the James Van Der Zee Archive through purchase and gift in 2021. The archive includes approximately 20,000 photographs, 30,000 negatives, photography studio equipment, and related ephemera. For more information, see Jeff L. Rosenheim, "The James Van Der Zee Archive," *Recent Acquisitions, A Selection: 2020–2022. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 80, no. 2 (Fall 2022), p. 58.

14. For an example of the breadth of Harlem's diversity, see Vivek Bald, *Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015).

15. Oral history interview of Anna Hedgeman by Katherine Shannon and Robert E. Martin, July 25, 1967, and August 27, 1968, p. 55. Ralph Bunche Oral History Collection, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C. For more on Hedgeman, see Jennifer Scanlon, *Until There Is Justice: The Life of Anna Arnold Hedgeman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

16. "Harlemesque" was a popular term in mainstream newspapers around the United States during the 1930s for describing a wide range of things, from certain kinds of attire to flavors and rhythms. In some instances, the word, although essentializing, seems to have been a trendy way of expressing Harlem's widespread popularity and cultural cachet. My use of the term in a historical context is fitting, as it was often picked up by news media outside Manhattan (including Brooklyn, but also as far as Maryland, Tennessee, and California). For one example among many, see Kenneth Frogley, "Radio Topics: Notes," *Illustrated Daily News* (Los Angeles), October 28, 1933.

17. "He used to live on Greenwich Street, if I remember rightly," Crite commented. "My mother and I lived on Greenwich Street for a short time. He lived on one end of the street, and my mother was apparently in the middle of the street. Anyhow, he opened his windows and of course he'd be practicing. So my mother had the pleasure of hearing him under what you might call informal circumstances." Oral history interview with Allan Rohan Crite by Robert F. Brown, January 16, 1979,

and October 22, 1980. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-allan-rohan-crite-11458. Additional evidence of an ongoing artistic conversation in Boston among Black artists is the fact that Hayes wrote the introduction to Crite's illustrated book *Three Spirituals from Earth to Heaven* (1948), a copy of which is in The Met collection (52.659): https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/371029. For more on Crite, see Julie Levin Caro et al., *Allan Rohan Crite: Artist-Reporter of the African American Community*, exh. cat. (Seattle: Charles and Emma Frye Art Museum, 2001); Julie Levin Caro, "Rooted in the Community: Black Middle Class Identity Performance in the Early Works of Allan Rohan Crite, 1935–1948" (PhD diss., University of Texas, Austin, 2008); and Emilie Chesnutt Boone, "Envisioning the Crowd: The 1930s Neighborhood Series of Allan Rohan Crite" (master's thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, 2008).

18. In response to Sharifa Rhodes-Pitts's use of Ralph Ellison's phrase "Harlem Is Nowhere" as the title of her 2011 novel, Farah Jasmine Griffin proposed the following in a review of the book: "One might imagine an alternative narrative whereby 'Harlem Is Everywhere': where the profound influence of this literal and mythical geographic space is felt in music, in politics, in style, in language; where, spread by mobile Harlemites, records, books, memories and memoirs, its influence is felt globally." Farah Jasmine Griffin, "'Our Land That We Don't Own,'" *Transition*, no. 105 (2011), p. 149.

19. Alain Locke, "The Negro in Art," *Christian Education* 15, no. 2 (November 1931), p. 98.

20. James Van Der Zee, Owen Dodson, and Camille Billops, *The Harlem Book of the Dead* (New York: Morgan & Morgan, 1978), p. 85. For mention of Van Der Zee's work with mortuary photographs from the West Indies, see p. 3.

21. This is most likely a copy photograph by Van Der Zee of an image originally by an unknown photographer. The featured modernist backdrop does not appear in any of his own works, and the rigid posing in the group portrait does not align with photographs from Van Der Zee's studio. For cataloguing information on this distinct portrait, see the National Gallery of Art's collections page on the photograph, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.219462.html.

22. For more information on Prince Kojo Tovalou-Houénou, see Émile Derlin Zinsou and Luc Zouménou, *Kojo Tovalou Houénou, précurseur, 1887–1936: Pannégrisme et modernité* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2004); Babacar M'Baye, "Marcus Garvey and African Francophone Political Leaders of the Early Twentieth Century: Prince Kojo Tovalou Houénou Reconsidered," *Journal of Pan African Studies* 1, no. 5 (September 2006), pp. 1–10; Claude McKay, "What Is and What Isn't," *The Crisis* 27, no. 6 (April 1924), pp. 259–62; and Melvyn Stokes, "Kojo Touvalou Houénou: An Assessment," in "Homage to Michel Fabre: Michel in the Diasporic Imagination," special issue, *Transatlantica* (2009), http://journals.openedition.org/transatlantica/4271.

23. For more information on the multiples, see Candice Van Ellison and Reginald McGhee, "Interview with James Van DerZee" (July 3, 1969), in *The World of James Van DerZee*, comp. Reginald McGhee (New York: Grove Press, 1969), unpaginated, where Van Der Zee states, "I remember one occasion when we made some pictures for some prince who was visiting, Prince Tolo [*sic*]. He got his pictures, and after that he said he was going on a trip and he wanted some more pictures made. . . . I did make up about 1,500 pictures and let him take them along with him." In an email to the author on February 3, 2014, the writer Olympe Bhêly-Quénum, who shares a great-grandfather with Houénou, attached two portraits of the prince signed VanDerZee NY.

24. For a description of the room, see McKay, "What Is and What Isn't," pp. 259–61. For a mention of the former king's representation, see Neil L. Norman, "From the Shadow of an Atlantic Citadel: An Archaeology of the Huedan Countryside," in *Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. J. Cameron Monroe and Akinwumi Ogundiran (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 166.

25. Similarly, representations of the New Negro were never definitive, despite the ideals expounded by leading figures of the day. As Richard J. Powell reminds us in *Black Art: A Cultural History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), "The breadth of what constituted the 'New Negro' was staggering, with everything from depictions of the urbane and affluent, of the black poor and working class, of those in the high-profile world of entertainment, to visions of a kind of idyllic, black Arcadia" (p. 46).

26. Comments of Shawn Michelle Smith in the discussion "Performance and Transformation: Photographic (Re)visions of Subjectivity," in *Imagining Everyday Life: Engagements with Vernacular Photography*, ed. Tina Campt, Marianne Hirsch, Gil Z. Hochberg, and Brian Wallis (Göttingen, Germany: Steidl; New York: Walther Collection, 2020), p. 229.

27. Just before the publication of *Cecil Beaton's New York*, Beaton was denounced for including anti-Semitic illustrations in a *Vogue* magazine spread. In addition, after the book's publication, a libel suit was filed against him by Lieutenant Jay W. Clifford, a prominent Harlem socialite and customs inspector, who was slandered and mocked in the text. See Ted Poston, "'Libeled' Party at Clifford's Asks $500,000," *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 23, 1939.

28. Donald Albrecht, *Cecil Beaton: The New York Years*, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of the City of New York and Skira Rizzoli, 2011), p. 16.

29. Cecil Beaton, *Cecil Beaton's New York* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1938), p. 168.

30. Although Wexler defines the "unintended reader" in relation to literary sentimentality of the nineteenth century, the concept has widespread applicability, as made evident in Kirsten Pai Buick's "Confessions of an Unintended Reader: African American Art, American Art, and the Crucible of Naming," in *The Routledge Companion to African American Art History*, ed. Eddie Chambers (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 82–91. The original quote can be found in Laura Wexler, "Tender Violence: Literary Eavesdropping, Domestic Fiction, and Educational Reform," in *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in 19th-Century America*, ed. Shirley Samuels (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 18.

31. For a critical consideration of Black subjects, modernity, and self-fashioning within the context of African studio photography, see Jennifer Bajorek, "(Dis)locating Freedom: The Photographic Portraiture of Seydou Keïta," *Critical Interventions: Journal of African Art History and Visual Culture* 2, nos. 3–4 (2008), pp. 100–113.

32. Jennifer L. Roberts, "Things: Material Turn, Transnational Turn," *American Art* 31, no. 2 (Summer 2017), pp. 66–67.

QUEER HARLEM: GAY SOCIABILITY AND TRANSATLANTIC MODERNISM

JAMES SMALLS

1. The term "queer" has had a complicated evolution and contentious application throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In this essay, I use the word as an umbrella term and notion to refer to a broad spectrum of non-normative (nonheterosexual) sexual and gender relationships, desires, identities, and politics. On the early twentieth-century use and evolution of "queer" and related terms, see George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), pp. 16–18.

2. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "The Black Man's Burden," in *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory*, ed. Michael Warner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), p. 233.

3. "Black Atlantic" is a term proposed by the English cultural studies scholar Paul Gilroy in his 1993 book of the same title, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993). That study reoriented scholarship on the African diaspora by focusing on its constitutive role in the formation of Western modernity. In 2013 the scholar Omise'eke Natasha Tinsley, noting the conspicuous absence of gender and queer sexuality within Black Atlantic discourse, suggested the "Queer Atlantic" as a useful interpretive and analytic model for a Black queer diaspora in which the fluidity of the terms "Black," "queer," and "diaspora" is exposed and nourished. See Omise'eke Natasha Tinsley, "Black Atlantic, Queer Atlantic: Queer Imaginings of the Middle Passage," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 14, nos. 2–3 (2008), pp. 191–215.

4. For a comprehensive discussion of the evolution of the concept of the New Negro from 1895 to 1925, see Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black," *Representations*, no. 24 (Fall 1988), pp. 129–55.

5. For articulation of the distinction between Locke's ancestralism and the Eurocentric notion of modernist primitivism, see Kobena Mercer, *Alain Locke and the Visual Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the Hutchins Center for African and African American Research, Harvard University, 2022). Although he devised the notion of ancestralism for African Americans to tap into, Locke simultaneously lauded European participation in modernist primitivism.

6. Ibid., p. 8.

7. Intersectionality—which refers to the interconnected nature of social categories such as race, class, gender, and sexuality—serves as a useful analytic framework for understanding how social, political, and even cultural identities are linked and help anchor group and individual similarities and differences.

8. Mercer, *Alain Locke and the Visual Arts*, p. 155.

9. See Jeffrey C. Stewart, *The New Negro: The Life of Alain Locke* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

10. See Langston Hughes, *I Wonder as I Wander: An Autobiographical Journey*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993), p. 291. Also cited in Astrid Haas, "A Continent of Color: Langston Hughes and Spanish America," in *Expanding Latinidad: An Inter-American Perspective*, ed. Luz Angélica Kirschner (Trier, Germany: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2012), p. 179. On Hughes's interest in and relationship to Afro-Cuban arts, letters, and culture, see Frank Andre Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

11. Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, p. 113.

12. Hughes's sexual orientation continues to be a subject of conjecture and debate. Although many suspect that he was gay, Arnold Rampersad, Hughes's primary biographer, has determined that he was most likely asexual and passive in his sexual relations.

13. Mercer, *Alain Locke and the Visual Arts*, p. 9.

14. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, p. 2.

15. Although this image may represent a male cross-dresser who ventured into Van Der Zee's studio to have a portrait made, it is important to note that Van Der Zee did not title this photograph, which has been referred to posthumously as "Beau of the Ball."

16. See "From Brothers to Bankhead's, and More, the Legendary, Rockland Palace Dance Hall, Harlem NY 1920," *Harlem World Magazine*, https://www.harlemworldmagazine.com/the-rockland-palace-dance-hall-harlem-ny-1920/.

17. Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea: An Autobiography* (1940; reprint, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1986), pp. 273–74. Also see Eric Garber, "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. Martin Duberman et al. (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), pp. 318–31.

18. Hughes, *The Big Sea*, p. 273.

19. Thomas H. Wirth, ed., *Gay Rebel of the Harlem Renaissance: Selections from the Work of Richard Bruce Nugent* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002), p. xxi. Also see Elisa F. Glick, "Harlem's Queer Dandy: African-American Modernism and the Artifice of Blackness," *Modern Fiction Studies* 49, no. 3 (Fall 2003), pp. 414–42.

20. The play was adapted from the 1925 short novel of the same title by DuBose Heyward. Nugent was credited as Richard Bruce in the cast list.

21. Wirth, *Gay Rebel of the Harlem Renaissance*, p. 57.

22. Ellen McBreen, "Biblical Gender Bending in Harlem: The Queer Performance of Nugent's *Salome*," *Art Journal* 57, no. 3 (Fall 1998), p. 24. For an expanded discussion of the gay subtext in Wilde's play, see Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), pp. 149–68.

23. Wirth, *Gay Rebel of the Harlem Renaissance*, p. 59.

24. Quoted in McBreen, "Biblical Gender Bending in Harlem," p. 23.

25. See Richard Bruce Nugent, "'Gloria Swanson' (Mr. Winston)," Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, New York Public Library Digital Collections, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/cbeb9650-6146-0133-ae6e-00505686d14e.

26. "Ubangi Club, Harlem, New York, 1934–1937," *Harlem World Magazine*, harlemworldmagazine.com/Ubangi-club-harlem-new-york-1934-1937/. Also see James F. Wilson, *Bulldaggers, Pansies, and Chocolate Babies: Performance, Race, and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), pp. 178–83.

27. McBreen, "Biblical Gender Bending in Harlem," p. 24.

28. See Adam Clayton Powell, *Against the Tide: An Autobiography* (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1938), pp. 215–16.

29. Quoted in Jeff Kisseloff, *You Must Remember This: An Oral History of Manhattan from the 1890s to World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989), p. 288. Also see McBreen, "Biblical Gender Bending in Harlem," p. 28.

30. See Alain Locke, "Fire: A Negro Magazine," *The Survey*, August 15–September 15, 1927, p. 563. Also quoted in McBreen, "Biblical Gender Bending in Harlem," p. 26.

31. Dylan Rowen, "Cruising the Harlem Renaissance with Richard Bruce Nugent," *TMR: The Modernist Review* (November 2020), https://modernistreviewcouk.wordpress.com/2020/11/09/cruising-the-harlem-renaissance-with-richard-bruce-nugent/.

32. Matthew N. Hannah, "Desires Made Manifest: The Queer Modernism of Wallace Thurman's *Fire!!*," *Journal of Modern Literature* 38, no. 3 (2015), p. 168.

33. J. Edgar Bauer, "On the Transgressiveness of Ambiguity: Richard Bruce Nugent and the Flow of Sexuality and Race," *Journal of Homosexuality*, no. 62 (2015), p. 1022.

34. Stewart, *The New Negro*, p. 74.

35. Ibid.

36. Alain Locke to Langston Hughes, August 10, 1924, cited in Stewart, *The New Negro*, p. 440.

37. Stewart, *The New Negro*, p. 74.

38. Ibid.

39. Alain Locke, "A Note on African Art," *Opportunity* 2, no. 17 (May 1924), pp. 134–38.

40. See Jeffrey C. Stewart, *The Critical Temper of Alain Locke: A Selection of His Essays on Art and Culture* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1983), p. 109.

41. See Alain Locke, "Art Lesson from the Congo," *Survey Graphic* (February 1927), pp. 587–89; "A Collection of Congo Art," *The Arts* 11, no. 2 (February 1927), pp. 60–70; and "African Art: Classic Style," *American Magazine of Art* 28 (May 1935), pp. 270–78.

42. See David Bergman, "The African and the Pagan in Gay Black Literature," in *Sexual Sameness: Textual Differences in Lesbian and Gay Writing*, ed. Joseph Bristow (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 159–60.

43. In the context used here, "Afro-modernism" refers to Black diasporic investment in European and Euro-American modernist principles and practices that result in a dynamic hybridity and intersectionality. Although he never used the term in defining his New Negro philosophy, Locke could be considered one of the movement's earliest practitioners.

44. I borrow the term "intercultural hybridity" from Mercer, *Alain Locke and the Visual Arts*, pp. 190–91.

45. Ibid., p. 191.

46. See Ellen G. Landau, *Artists for Victory: An Exhibition Catalog* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1983), p. 2.

47. Margaret Rose Vendryes, *Barthé: A Life in Sculpture* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), p. 111; for excerpts from an interview with Barthé, see Andrea D. Barnwell, "The Boxer," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 24, no. 2 (1999), p. 200. It is not clear if Barthé ever met the boxer or even saw him fight in the ring.

48. Vendryes, *Barthé: A Life in Sculpture*, p. 111.

RONALD MOODY, INTERNATIONAL MODERNIST

EGO AHAIWE SOWINSKI

1. Ronald was the son of Charles Ernest Moody, a pharmacist, and Christina Emmeline Ellis. See "The Family of Charles Ernest Moody," *Jamaica History* (blog), January 10, 2021, http://jamaica-history.weebly.com/family-of-c-e-moody.html; and Cynthia Moody, "Ronald Moody: A Man True to His Vision," *Third Text: Third World Perspectives on Art and Culture* 3, nos. 8–9 (1989), pp. 5–25.

2. "Dr. Harold Moody Dies in London," *Daily Gleaner* (Kingston, Jamaica), April 25, 1947, p. 1.

3. "Making Britain: League of Coloured Peoples," Open University, http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/league-coloured-peoples.

4. Moody, "Ronald Moody: A Man True to His Vision," p. 7.

5. Guy Brett, "A Reputation Restored: The Rediscovery of Sculptor Ronald Moody," Tate Research Publication, 2003, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/ronald-moody-2298/reputation-restored.

6. See, for example, a wooden coffin fitting in the collection of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA6885.

7. Eddie Chambers, *Black Artists in British Art: A History since the 1950s* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2014), pp. 10–11. *L'Homme* was purchased by Helene Coppel-Cowan, Moody's partner and later wife, soon after it was made. Along with other works, the sculpture was stranded in the United States after a 1939 exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art, due to the outbreak of World War II. It was eventually retrieved from the Harmon Foundation and returned to Moody by Marie Seton in 1952. *L'Homme* remained in the artist's collection and hung in the couple's living room until Ronald's death. Cynthia Moody, "Ronald Moody: The Complete Works," 2009, Record No. 15401, Stuart Hall Library, Iniva, https://iniva.koha-ptfs.co.uk/cgi-bin/koha/opac-MARCdetail.pl?biblionumber=15401.

8. The exhibition was on view January 19–February 16, 1935. Papers of Ronald Moody, TGA 956/8/1/1, Tate Archive, http://archive.tate.org.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=TGA+956%2f8%2f1%2f1.

9. "Sir Jacob Epstein, *The Visitation*, 1926," Tate, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/epstein-the-visitation-n04238. Ronald Moody, "West Indian Diary—Postscript—A Visit to Epstein's Exhibition," November 21, 1952, BBC transcript, Papers of Ronald Moody, TGA 956/3/6/14, Tate Archive, http://archive.tate.org.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=TGA+956%2f3%2f6%2f14. Correspondence between Cynthia Moody and John La Rose, April 19, 1998, George Padmore Institute Archive, https://catalogue.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/records/LRA/01/0274/01. Moody and Epstein met through the International Arts Centre in West London, which was run by the influential social worker Margaret Torrie, and they were also members of the Society of Portrait Sculptors. Both artists created portraits of Paul Robeson. Epstein's 1927 bronze, created after a visit to New York, is now in the collection of the York Art Gallery. Epstein also produced a portrait of Robeson's eleven-year-old son, Pauli, in London in 1938; see "'Paul Robeson's Son," Art UK, https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/paul-robesons-son-259115.

10. Michael E. Sadler, ed., *Arts of West Africa (Excluding Music)* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

11. "Reception at the Adams Gallery," *The Keys: The Official Organ of the League of Coloured Peoples* 2, no. 4 (April–June 1935), p. 80.

12. "Henry Moore's Sculptures," Tate, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/henry-moore-om-ch-1659/henry-moores-sculptures.

13. Ann Compton, "'An Essentially Different Kind of Rhythm': Rediscovering Henry Moore's Sculpture in Wood," Tate Research Publication, 2015, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/henry-moore/ann-compton-an-essentially-different-kind-of-rhythm-rediscovering-henry-moores-sculpture-r1151313.

14. Jacob Epstein, *Epstein: An Autobiography*, rev. ed. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1955), pp. 128–29, 131.

15. Jenny Alexander, "The Great British Art Tour: The Remarkable Ol' Man Robeson," *The Guardian*, March 25, 2021, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/mar/25/the-great-british-art-tour-jacob-epstein-paul-robeson-york.

16. The ceremony was witnessed by Seton and the gallerist Pierre Vorms, as documented in a 1949 photocopy of Ronald and Helene Moody's marriage certificate, Papers of Ronald Moody, TGA 956/7/1/16, Tate Archive, http://archive.tate.org.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=TGA+956%2f7%2f1%2f16&pos=3. Vorms and Joseph Billiet, his partner in the Paris gallery, opposed the idea of art as entertainment and were committed to supporting new artists; see Rose-Marie Stolberg, "Art and Politics in the 1920s: The Gallery of Joseph Billiet and Pierre Vorms (1921–1932)," *Sociétés Représentations* 51, no. 1 (2021), pp. 243–61. Later in 1938, Vorms exhibited Moody's sculpture *Midonz* at the Salon des Tuileries; his works *Tacet* and *Helen 2* were included in a show titled *Tropiques* at Galerie Billiet-Vorms; and he had a solo exhibition at Galerie L'Équipe.

17. Memorandum, Mary Beattie Brady to Evelyn S. Brown, August 9, 1938, Papers of Ronald Moody, TGA 956/2/2/5(1/108), Tate Archive, http://archive.tate.org.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=TGA+956%2f2%2f2%2f5.

18. Letter, Evelyn S. Brown to James S. Watson, August 18, 1938, Papers of Ronald Moody, TGA 956/2/2/5(2/108), Tate Archive, http://archive.tate.org.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=TGA+956%2f2%2f2%2f5.

19. James S. Watson Papers, New York Public Library Archives and Manuscripts, https://archives.nypl.org/scm/20938.

20. Letter, Marie Seton to Evelyn S. Brown, September 18, 1938, Papers of Ronald Moody, TGA 956/2/2/5(4/108), Tate Archive, http://archive.tate.org.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=TGA+956%2f2%2f2%2f5. "Former Guggenheim Jeune Gallery, London," Mondrian Route, https://www.mondrianroute.com/areas/londen/guggenheim-jeune-gallery.

21. See Karole P. B. Vail, *Peggy Guggenheim: A Celebration* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1998).

22. Brett, "A Reputation Restored."

23. *Contemporary Negro Art: On Exhibition from February 3–19, 1939*, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1939), https://artbma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15264coll3/id/74/.

24. Cynthia Moody, "Midonz," *Transition*, no. 77 (1998), p. 16.

25 Ibid., p. 18.

26. Jeffrey C. Stewart, *The New Negro: The Life of Alain Locke* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 775.

27. Moody, "Midonz," p. 16.

28. Kobena Mercer, "Afro-Modernism's Musée Imaginaire," in *Alain Locke and the Visual Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the Hutchins Center for African and African American Research, Harvard University, 2022), p. 99.

29. See the program and guidebook for the exhibition, held from July 4 to September 2, 1940: *American Negro Exposition* ([Chicago: Exposition Authority], 1940), http://archive.org/details/americannegroexp00amer.

30. Moody, "Ronald Moody: The Complete Works."

31. *Midonz* was eventually found at Hampton University, Virginia, and returned to Britain in 1994, fifty-seven years later, to the custody of Cynthia Moody, who had spent nearly a decade searching for it. The work is now part of Tate's permanent collection; see "Ronald Moody, Midonz, 1937," Tate, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/moody-midonz-t13324.

32. Cynthia Moody, "Ronald Moody: A Way of Life," *Caribbean Beat Magazine*, no. 46 (December 2000), https://www.caribbean-beat.com/issue-46/a-way-of-life#axzz6oSQEpCIQ.

33. Brett, "A Reputation Restored."

34. "Harold Moody," National Portrait Gallery, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp06584/harold-arundel-moody.

35. C.L.R. James to Ronald Moody, related to the portrait of his brother Harold, August 28, 1950, Papers of Ronald Moody, TGA 956/2/2/12(69/123), Tate Archive, https://archive.tate.org.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=TGA+956%2f2%2f2%2f12&pos=1.

36. See, for example, Cheryl Finley, "Mapping Art History at the Atlanta University Center," in *Reshaping the Field: Arts of the African Diasporas on Display*, ed. Nana Adusei-Poku (London: Afterall, 2022), p. 34.

37. Papers of Ronald Moody, 1900–94, Tate Archive, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/archive/tga-956/papers-of-ronald-moody.

38. "Tate Archive Uncatalogued Collection List April 2022," TGA 201410, Tate Archive, http://archive.tate.org.uk/files/TateArchiveUncatCollList.pdf.

39. Rasheed Araeen, *The Other Story: Afro-Asian Artists in Post-War Britain* (London: South Bank Centre, 1989), p. 16.

40. Richard J. Powell and David A. Bailey, *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance*, exh. cat. (London: Hayward Gallery and Institute of International Visual Arts; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 5.

41. Mora J. Beauchamp-Byrd and M. Franklin Sirmans, eds., *Transforming the Crown: African, Asian, and Caribbean Artists in Britain, 1966–1996*, exh. cat. (New York: Franklin H. Williams Caribbean Cultural Center, 1998), p. 10.

42. See Caroline Bressey and Gemma Romain, *Spaces of Black Modernism: London 1919–39*, UCL Department of Geography, https://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/news-events/news/news-archive/2014/october-2014/spaces-of-black-modernism-london-1919201339. The exhibition was based on Bressey and Romain's 2019 research project, "Drawing Over the Colour Line," Equiano Centre, University College London, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/equiano-centre/projects/drawing-over-colour-line.

43. David A. Bailey, "Caribbean Movements in Britain," in *Life Between Islands: Caribbean-British Art, 1950s–Now*, ed. Alex Farquharson and David A. Bailey, exh. cat. (London: Tate Publishing, 2021), p. 25. See also Gemma Romain, "The Harlem Renaissance: Art, Politics and Ancient Egypt," Equiano Centre, University College London, 2019, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/equiano-centre/educational-resources/fusion-worlds/context/harlem-renaissance-art-politics-and-ancient-egypt.

HARLEM AND THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN

STEPHANIE ARCHANGEL

1. Veerle Poupeye, *Caribbean Art*, 2nd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), pp. 12–13.

2. Stephanie Archangel, "Tachtig jaar oorlog—een gedeeld verleden," in Gijs van der Ham et al., *80 jaar oorlog* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Hilversum: NTR; Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2018), p. 276.

3. J. A. Schiltkamp, "In the Time of the Soublettes," in J. A. Schiltkamp et al., *Soublette et Fils: Photography in Curaçao around 1900* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 1999), p. 12.

4. Alex van Stipriaan, "Het ABC van beelden/beelden van ABC," in *Antilliaans erfgoed 1: toen en nu*, ed. Gert Oostindie and Alex van Stipriaan (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2021), p. 103.

5. The earliest known individual portraits in the Dutch Caribbean Islands, made by the priest A. J. (Antonius Joannes) van Koolwijk in 1887 during his stay in Aruba, are now in the collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, the Netherlands (RV-A53).

6. Schiltkamp, "In the Time of the Soublettes," p. 13.

7. Jennifer Smit and Felix de Rooy, *Curaçao Classics: Visual Arts, 1900–2010* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2012), p. 10.

8. De Marchena was the illegitimate son of Anna Delfina Wiel, a Catholic Afro-Curaçaoan, and Benjamin Abraham de Marchena, who was Jewish. His sister, with help from their father, opened a shop called La Bonanza, which sold postcards and other local goods such as books and clothing. After De Marchena's brother-in-law died, he took over the family's business deals with the United States.

9. Aart G. Broek, *Medardo de Marchena: Staatsgevaarlijk in koloniaal Curaçao* (Haarlem: In de Knipscheer, 2021), pp. 22–23.

10. Ibid., pp. 24–27.

11. Medardo de Marchena, *Ignorancia ó educando un pueblo* (*Ignorance or the Formation of a People*) (1929), reprinted in Broek, *Medardo de Marchena*, p. 89.

12. De Kom wrote *We Slaves of Suriname* after he was exiled to the Netherlands for anticolonialist activities in his native country. During World War II he joined the Dutch resistance, was arrested, and was sent to a concentration camp, where he eventually died and was buried in a mass grave. In 1960, his remains were identified and reburied in the Loenen Cemetery.

13. De Marchena, *Ignorancia ó educando un pueblo*, p. 87.

14. Willem E. Kroon, "Nos, Negros," *De onpartijdige*, no. 20 (May 24, 1933), quoted in Gert Oostindie, "Een koloniale erfgoedcanon en zelfbewuste tegenstemmen, 1800–1950,"in *Antilliaans erfgoed 1: toen en nu*, p. 37.

15. Duco van Oostrum, "De adem der vrijheid: *Wij slaven van Suriname* als literatuur," in *Wij slaven van Suriname*, by Anton de Kom (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2020), pp. 15–27.

16. Eveline Sint Nicolaas, *Shackles and Bonds: Suriname and the Netherlands since 1600* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Nijmengen: Van Tilt, 2018), p. 211.

17. Esther Schreuder, "Zwart is hot in het interbellum," in *Black Is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas*, ed. Esther Schreuder and Elmer Kolfin, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Kerk, 2008), pp. 297–315.

18. Philip McCormick, "Healing Colonial Trauma: Marcus Garvey, Cargo Movements, and Symbolic Empowerment," *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 2 (November 2008), pp. 252–65.

19. John L. Graves, "The Social Ideas of Marcus Garvey," *Journal of Negro Education* 31, no. 1 (Winter 1962), pp. 65–74.

20. Fred Verhees, "Een speurtocht naar Rijts: Een fragmentarische reconstructie van een religieuze beweging," *OSO: Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde, letterkunde en geschiedenis* 19, no. 1 (May 2000), p. 314.

21. Ibid., p. 309; Graves, "The Social Ideas of Marcus Garvey," p. 67.

22. McCormick, "Healing Colonial Trauma," p. 263.

23. Verhees, "Een speurtocht naar Rijts," pp. 310–11.

24. Ibid., p. 319.

25. Jennifer Smit and Felix de Rooy, *Curaçao Classics: Visual Arts, 1900–2010* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2012), p. 11.

26. Ibid., p. 13.

ARTISTS FROM THE ANTILLES IN INTERWAR PARIS

CHRISTELLE LOZÈRE

1. Serge Mam-Lam-Fouck, *Histoire de l'assimilation des "vieilles colonies" françaises aux départements d'outre-mer: La culture politique de l'assimilation en Guyane et aux Antilles françaises (XIXe et XXe siècles)* (Matoury, French Guiana: Ibis Rouge Éditions, 2006), p. 47. The expression "vieilles colonies" was often used during the interwar period to designate the four colonial polities conquered under the ancien régime.

2. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993).

3. Jean-Pierre Sainton, *Les nègres en politique: Couleur, identités et stratégies de pouvoir en Guadeloupe au tournant du siècle* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, France: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2000); Dominique Chathuant, "L'émergence d'une élite politique noire dans la France du premier XXe siècle?" *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d'histoire*, no. 101 (January–March 2009), pp. 133–47.

4. Germain Casse was born in 1837 in Point-à-Pitre. Although some primary sources describe him as a "mulatto" of mixed heritage from his maternal line, this has not been confirmed by genealogical research. His strong opposition to the Second Empire and activism as an abolitionist and a fervent republican led to his being imprisoned several times. Later, he would represent Guadeloupe in the French National Assembly from 1873 to 1876 and, as a member of the political radical left, was close to Victor Schœlcher, Georges Clemenceau, and Victor Hugo.

5. Germaine Casse's Peul origins are discussed in the biography of the geographer Élisée Reclus, whose wife was the artist's aunt by marriage. The Senegalese origins of the John family have been confirmed by genealogical research; see Christophe Brun and Federico Ferretti, *Élisée Reclus: Une chronologie familiale, 1796–2014* (2014), p. 26, http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01018828v1.

6. The sitter may have been Édoualine Belocian, who was born in Lamentin in 1911 and thus would have been fifteen years old in the painting.

7. According to official records, the municipal counselor Dorville Alidor (his name is misspelled in the catalogue of Casse's exhibition), born in Petit-Bourg in 1858 to a family of farmers, was a carpenter.

8. Joel Augustus Rogers, "Creole Blood Fires Veins of Paris Artist: Mme Germaine Casse, Mixture of Black, White and Indian Ancestry," *The Afro-American*, May 19, 1928, p. 1.

9. Alain Locke, "More of the Negro in Art," *Opportunity* 3, no. 36 (December 1925), pp. 362–66.

10. Ibid., p. 363.

11. "The Negro in Art: How Shall He Be Portrayed; A Symposium," *The Crisis* 31, no. 5 (March 1926), p. 219. See also Jacqueline Francis, *Making Race: Modernism and "Racial Art" in America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), pp. 78–121.

12. Anne Elizabeth Carroll, *Word, Image, and the New Negro: Representation and Identity in the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), pp. 89–92.

13. Catherine Bernard, "Confluence: Harlem Renaissance, Modernism and Négritude," in *Explorations in the City of Light: African-American Artists in Paris, 1945–1965*, ed. Audreen Buffalo (New York: Studio Museum in Harlem, 1996), pp. 21–27.

14. See J. A. Rogers, *Sex and Race: A History of White, Negro, and Indian Miscegenation in the Two Americas*, vol. 2, *The New World* (New York: J. A. Rogers, 1941), pp. 117–18.

15. Fernand Bailly was the son of Polymnie Eleuther, whose family, emancipated in the eighteenth century, had acquired wealth through coffee and trade.

16. "Une exposition martiniquaise à Paris," *La Chronique Coloniale*, November 15, 1933, p. 427.

17. Christelle Lozère, Myriam Moïse, and Mickaël Caruge, "Marie-Thérèse Lung-Fou," 2023, Archives of Women Artists, Research and Exhibitions, https://awarewomenartists.com/en/artiste/marie-therese-julien-lung-fou/.

ARTISTS FOR VICTORY AND THE WPA AT THE MET: CATALYTIC ACQUISITIONS OF WORK BY AFRICAN AMERICAN ARTISTS IN THE EARLY 1940S

LOWERY STOKES SIMS

1. Philippe de Montebello, "Director's Foreword," in Lisa Mintz Messinger, Lisa Gail Collins, and Rachel Mustalish, *African-American Artists, 1929–1945: Prints, Drawings, and Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), p. 7.

2. The WPA was the Works Progress Administration until 1939 and the Work Projects Administration after 1939.

3. On African American artists and the WPA in general, see especially Ruth Ann Stewart, *New York/Chicago: WPA and the Black Artist*, exh. cat. (New York: Studio Museum in Harlem, 1978); Leslie King-Hammond, *Black Printmakers and the WPA*, exh. cat. (Bronx, N.Y.: Lehman College Art Gallery, City University of New York, 1989); *Alone in a Crowd: Prints of the 1930s–1940s by African-American Artists, from the Collection of Reba and Dave Williams*, with texts by M. Stephen Doherty, Leslie King-Hammond, Lowery Stokes Sims, and Reba and Dave Williams, exh. cat. (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1993); Dewey F. Mosby, ed., *Life Impressions: 20th-Century African American Prints from the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (Hamilton, N.Y.: Picker Art Gallery, Colgate University, 2001); Mary Ann Calo, "Expansion and Redirection: African Americans and the New Deal Federal Art Projects," *Archives of American Art Journal* 55, no. 2 (Fall 2016), pp. 80–91; Myrah Brown Green, *Brooklyn on My Mind: Black Visual Artists from the WPA to the Present* (Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, 2018); and Mary Ann Calo, *African American Artists and the New Deal Art Programs: Opportunity, Access, and Community* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2023).

4. Francis Henry Taylor, "Foreword," in *Artists for Victory: An Exhibition of Contemporary American Art*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1942), unpaginated.

5. Ibid.

6. "Record Art Show Has $52,000 Prizes; Artists for Victory Display at Metropolitan Museum Totals 918 Exhibits," *New York Times*, December 8, 1942, https://www.nytimes.com/1942/12/08/archives/record-art-show-has-52000-prizes-artists-for-victory-display-at.html.

7. Lisa Mintz Messinger, "Introduction," in *African-American Artists, 1920–1945*, p. 16.

8. These included graphic media (lithography, serigraphy, etching, Carborundum etching, mezzotint, and drypoint), tempera, and watercolor. Messinger, "Introduction," p. 17.

9. Ibid., p. 11.

10. See Evan Kalish, "Metropolitan Museum of Art Repairs—New York, NY," The Living New Deal, August 11, 2014, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/metropolitan-museum-art-repairs-new-york-ny/.

11. "WPA Art Shown in Museum," *New York Times*, June, 17, 1937, https://www.nytimes.com/1937/06/17/archives/wpa-art-shown-in-museum.html.

12. Allison Rudnick and James Moske, "Finding Inspiration in Dark Times: The Met During the Great Depression," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Blogs, December 24, 2020, https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/2020/met-depression-years. The authors note that WPA workers supported a unique initiative at The Met during the Depression known as Neighborhood Circulating Exhibitions, a series of ten thematic installations of works from the Museum's collection that circulated among public libraries, community centers, schools, and municipal buildings across New York City. This was a predecessor to the Borough Exhibitions program that I administered as associate museum educator in the Community Programs Department at The Met from 1972 to 1975.

13. Messinger, "Introduction," p. 16. See Nina Castelli Sundell, "Preface," in King-Hammond, *Black Printmakers and the WPA*, p. 3.

14. See Sundell, "Preface," p. 3.

15. Leslie King-Hammond, "Black Printmakers and the W.P.A.," in *Alone in a Crowd*, p. 13.

16. Francis V. O'Connor, *Federal Support for the Visual Arts: The New Deal and Now* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1969), p. 29.

17. See Messinger, "Introduction," p. 16.

18. Because this discussion is focused on printmakers, it does not include other African American women who were luminaries of the time, such as the sculptor Augusta Savage, the visionary director of the Harlem Community Art Center; Selma Burke, whose relief portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt served as the model for his image on the U.S. dime; and the painter Margaret Burroughs, a cofounder of the DuSable Museum of African American History in Chicago. All three women were featured in the exhibition *New York/Chicago: WPA and the Black Artist*, organized by Ruth Ann Stewart at the Studio Museum in Harlem in 1978.

19. "Rules for the Exhibition as Issued June 15, 1942," in *Artists for Victory*, unpaginated.

20. Riva Helfond taught in the WPA program from 1936 to 1941, including a stint at the Harlem Community Art Center, and as a consequence her work was featured in the 1989 exhibition *Black Printmakers and the WPA*, organized by Leslie King-Hammond. See King-Hammond, *Black Printmakers and the WPA*, p. 19. Among Helfond's students was Robert Blackburn, whose work was included in the 1999 Reba and Dave Williams gift. Blackburn continued the work of Stanley William Hayter's pioneering Atelier 17 by establishing the Printmaking Workshop in New York in 1947. See the brief history of the workshop on the website of the Elizabeth Foundation for the Arts, https://www.rbpmw-efanyc.org/about; and "Robert Blackburn," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Blackburn_(artist).

21. See King-Hammond, *Black Printmakers and the WPA*, p. 19; and "Norman Lewis," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman_Lewis_(artist).

22. Quoted in Samella Lewis, *Barthé: His Life in Art* (Los Angeles: Unity Works in collaboration with the Museum of African American Art, 2009), p. 57.

23. See Sharon F. Patton, *African-American Art*, Oxford History of Art (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 130–31.

24. King-Hammond, "Black Printmakers and the W.P.A.," in *Alone in a Crowd*, p. 10.

25. Reba and Dave Williams, "Themes and Images," in *Alone in a Crowd*, pp. 21–37.

26. Lisa Gail Collins, "Checklist of the Exhibit," in *Alone in a Crowd*, p. 56.

27. Ibid.

28. Rudnick and Moske, "Finding Inspiration in Dark Times." For background, see Patton, *African-American Art*, pp. 125–27, which discusses the social dynamics of the patronage of Black artists and their access to the mainstream art world.

29. See "Francis Henry Taylor, 54, Dies," *New York Times*, November 23, 1957, https://www.nytimes.com/1957/11/23/archives/francis-henry-taylor-54-dies-head-of-museum-of-art-193954-rebuilder.html.

30. See Barbara File, "This Weekend in Met History: April 2," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Blogs, April 1, 2011, https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/features/2011/this-weekend-in-met-history-april-2. Calvin Tomkins wrote about this episode in *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1970), pp. 300–301.

31. See, for example, Alex Greenberger, "How 'Irascible' Abstract Expressionists Stared Down the Met—and Changed Art History," *Art News*, August 10, 2020, https://www.artnews.com/art-news/artists/the-irascibles-abstract-expressionism-met-controversy-1202696451/.

32. Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, pp. 310–13. See also "Robert Beverly Hale," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Beverly_Hale.

33. The Met's press release for the exhibition states that the WPA allowed printmakers, "who could ill afford the pigments and labor-intensive work required to create color prints, to experiment with a broad spectrum of media." See "W.P.A. Color Prints: Images from the Federal Art Project," January 26, 1996, The Met: Watson Library Digital Collections, https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll12/id/11175/.

34. Mosby, ed., *Life Impressions*.

THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE IN EXHIBITION

BRIDGET R. COOKS

1. There have also been important monographic exhibitions of work by key artists active during the Harlem Renaissance, including *Homecoming: The Art and Life of William H. Johnson* (1991); *Sargent Johnson: African-American Modernist* (1998); *Aaron Douglas: African American Modernist* (2008); *Rising Up: Hale Woodruff's Murals at Talladega College* (2013); *Archibald Motley: Jazz Age Modernist* (2014); *Augusta Savage: Renaissance Woman* (2018); *Horace Pippin: From War to Peace* (2019); *Unchained: Allan Rohan Crite, Spirituality and Black Activism* (2022); *James Van Der Zee's Photographs: A Portrait of Harlem* (2022); *Beauford Delaney's Metamorphosis into Freedom* (2023); *Dimensions of Art and Identity: The Life and Work of Nancy Elizabeth Prophet* (2023).

2. See Bridget R. Cooks, "Black Artists and Activism: *Harlem on My Mind*, 1969," in *Exhibiting Blackness: African Americans and the American Art Museum* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), pp. 53–85.

3. For a full discussion of the discourse around *The Janitor Who Paints*, see John Ott, "Labored Stereotypes: Palmer Hayden's *The Janitor Who Paints*," *American Art* 22, no. 1 (Spring 2008), pp. 102–15.

4. Mary Schmidt Campbell, "Introduction," in *Harlem Renaissance: Art of Black America*, exh. cat. (New York: Studio Museum in Harlem and Harry N. Abrams, 1994), p. 13.

5. Associated Press, "A Harlem Showcase for Black Art," *New York Times*, August 27, 1987, p. C25.

6. John Russell, "A Vivacious and Poignant Look at the Harlem of Old," *New York Times*, February 22, 1987, sec. 2, pp. 33, 35.

7. Michael Kimmelman, "A Show by Black Artists Rekindles an Old Debate," *New York Times*, August 7, 1988, sec. 1, p. 51.

8. "Harlem Renaissance—Art of Black America Opens," *New York Amsterdam News*, February 7, 1987, p. 29; Mel Tapley, "Studio Museum Gives Glimpse of Harlem Renaissance," *New York Amsterdam News*, May 16, 1987, p. 30.

9. David A. Bailey, "Introduction," in *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance*, exh. cat. (London: Hayward Gallery and Institute of International Visual Arts; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 11–12.

10. Patricia C. Johnson, "The Harlem Renaissance—MFA Exhibit Offers Better Understanding of Era," *Houston Chronicle*, November 21, 1988, Houston sec., p. 7.

11. Phil Johnson, "Bohemian Rhapsodies," *The Independent on Sunday*, June 21, 1997, p. 1.

12. Tim Hilton, "Harlem Didn't Only Shuffle," *The Independent on Sunday*, June 28, 1997, p. 1.

13. Nannette V. Maciejunes, "Foreword," in *I Too Sing America: The Harlem Renaissance at 100*, ed. Wil Haygood (New York: Rizzoli Electa; Columbus: Columbus Museum of Art, 2018), p. 19.

14. Tim Feran, "Tourism Agency Honors #SaveTheCrew, Others," *Columbus Dispatch*, May 7, 2019, p. B12.

15. Sebastian Smee, "The Dazzling Harlem Renaissance That Flowered in New York Nearly a Century Ago Celebrated in Ohio," *Washington Post*, November 19, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/the-dazzling-harlem-renaissance-that-flowered-in-new-york-nearly-a-century-ago/2018/11/19/3524691c-ded0-11e8-85df-7a6b4d25cfbb_story.html.

16. See "I, Too, Sing America: The Harlem Renaissance at 100," https://cbusharlem100.org.

A POLITICAL PAGEANT: THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE ON PARADE

CLAIRE TANCONS

1. "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro" was the title of the March 1925 issue of *Survey Graphic* (see fig. 3 and discussions elsewhere in this volume).

2. Sharifa Rhodes-Pitts, "The Worth of Black Men, From Slavery to Ferguson," *New York Times*, October 9, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/12/magazine/the-worth-of-black-men-from-slavery-to-ferguson.html?_r=0.

3. E. Simms Campbell, "A Night-Club Map of Harlem" (1932), *Manhattan: A Weekly for Wakeful New Yorkers*, January 18, 1933, foldout on pp. 7–10.

4. The original title of the series was *The Migration of the Negro*, but it was renamed *The Migration Series* in 1992.

5. This is true from its kinetographic and cinematographic origins—such as Georges Méliès's 1897 films of Mardi Gras and the Parade du Boeuf Gras or the Lumière Brothers' 1895 film of workers leaving a factory—to its later development in the French New Wave, as with Jean-Luc Godard's use of the *défilement* technique.

6. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), *The Journey of the Magi*, ca. 1433–35, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437611.

7. Michael Ondaatje, *Coming through Slaughter* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), p. 134; Brent Hayes Edwards, *Epistrophies: Jazz and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017), pp. 8–9.

8. See David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (New York: Random House, 1981), p. 15; quoted in Sharifa Rhodes-Pitts, *Harlem Is Nowhere: A Journey to the Mecca of Black America* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2011), p. 207.

9. See the documentary *The Big Uneasy* (2010), by Harry Shearer, and the map (#15) titled *Thirty-Nine Sundays*, in Rebecca Solnit and Rebecca Snedecker, *Unfathomable City: A New Orleans Atlas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013). The map details the city's yearly parade season, which is limited to thirty-nine Sundays to avoid the summer heat.

10. W. E. B. DuBois, "Returning Soldiers," *The Crisis* 18, no. 1 (May 1919), p. 14.

11. W. E. B. DuBois, "Men of the Month," *The Crisis* 4, no. 2 (June 1912), p. 68. "One of Mr. Europe's distinguishing characteristics is his genius for organization."

12. As, for instance, the discussions raised by the exhibition *Procession: The Art of Norman Lewis*, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, November 12, 2015–April 3, 2016.

13. For an audio recording of Lord Invader's "Jump in d Line," see https://youtube.com/watch?v=dWAyGaq4c0k.

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DENISE MURRELL

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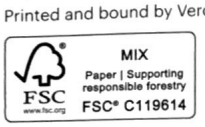

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